

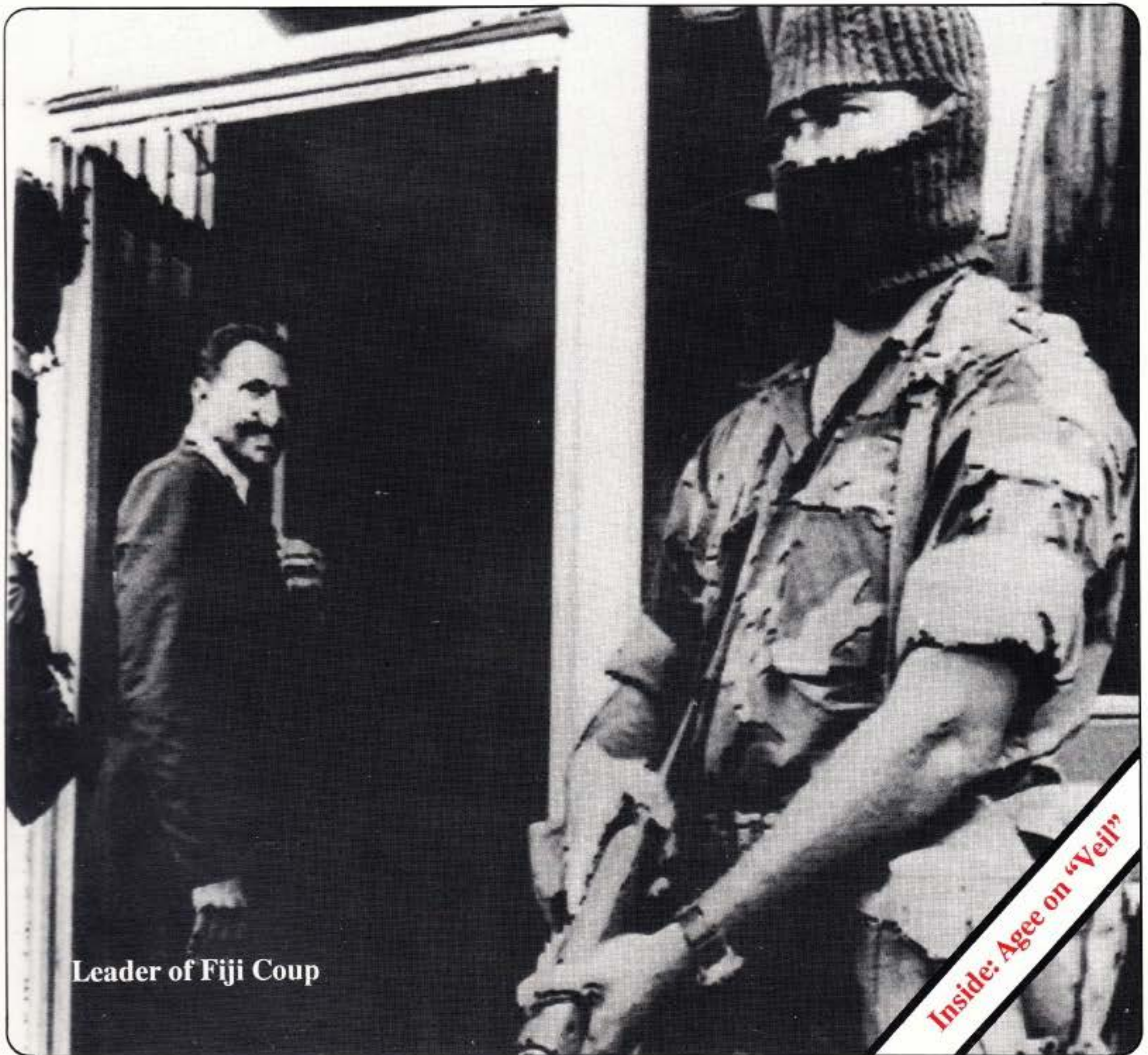
Covert Action

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Special Issue on the Pacific; Conclusion of Report on AIDS



Leader of Fiji Coup

Inside: Agee on "Veil"

Editorial

In this issue we examine the destabilizing machinations of two imperialist powers in the South Pacific, the United States and France. Since the end of World War II, the U.S. has been using the region for testing atomic weapons and their effects on humans, and for testing the accuracy of an entire post-war arsenal of ballistic and other missiles. The U.S. has made a strategic decision that the Pacific must remain under its militaristic influence, and has become deservedly paranoid over the growth of a regional anti-nuclear movement.

Indeed, this explains U.S. hostility towards Vanuatu and New Zealand, both of which support a nuclear-free Pacific, and it underscores a U.S. intelligence role in the Fiji coup which deposed the newly elected, progressive, and anti-nuclear, administration of Timoci Bavadra. It also helps explain why the U.S. has hidden the true story of the devastation and havoc wrought by its nuclear testing and its violent reactions to the aspirations of the people of Belau.

French Colonialism

The other major villain in the Pacific, the French, promotes a vicious colonialism which has almost gone out of practice elsewhere. The workers of Tahiti are brutally suppressed, and the independence movement in Kanaky, the French "overseas territory" of New Caledonia, is the target of murder and death squads. The French are at least as pro-nuclear as the U.S., continuing open air testing and sending secret agents to eliminate opponents of this poisonous activity, as in the case of Greenpeace.

French hatred of the Kanaky liberation movement (FLNKS) has led to intense and hamhanded pressure by France on trading partners and aid recipients, culminating in a recent campaign to defeat the United Nations resolution in favor of Kanaky self-determination. Although the resolution passed again late last year, the number of yes votes declined and the number of abstentions and no votes increased, almost exclusively because of French blackmail. Indeed there are rumors that French intelligence was involved in the bloody overthrow and murder of the President of Burkina Faso, Thomas Sankara, one of the sponsors of the previous year's pro-Kanaky resolution. This past year the regime of Sankara's murderer, Capt. Blaise Campaore abstained. Other generally progressive African nations, with large French trade, did likewise.

The coup in Fiji and the coup in Burkina Faso are reminiscent of the tragic events in Grenada. The hands of the imperialists, whether American or French, span the globe.

Also in this Issue

In addition to the conclusion of our long analysis of AIDS, we include several articles in this issue not dealing with the Pacific: on the history of CIA intervention in Tibet, on the endless pressures against Nicaragua, on the incredible exposure by Cuban intelligence of scores of CIA agents at work in that country, and on the long intelligence connections of the *Reader's Digest*. We also present a book review by Philip Agee of Bob Woodward's new book on William Casey, "Veil." •

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Cover photo: Col. Rabuka smiles as soldier in ski mask stands guard, after coup in Fiji. Credit: Associated Press.

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An Overview:

U.S. Strategic Interests in the Pacific

by James Anthony*

The more than 10,000 islands of the South Pacific comprise 23 micro states. Of these, the islands of Micronesia are part of a United Nations-sanctioned "strategic" trust administered by the United States. The islands are small, with a land area, including Papua-New Guinea, of a half million square kilometers and a total population of only six million people. What makes these islands extremely important to the U.S. is their strategic location. They lie in the "belly" of the vast Pacific Ocean astride the equator. In an age when the ability to conduct naval nuclear warfare looms large in the calculus of nuclear war strategy, oceans and islands become important out of proportion to their size.¹

Spurred on by the rapid pace of political change in the region, American activity in the South Pacific has taken a sharp upswing. An understanding of American perceptions and postures towards the Pacific islands can be gleaned from a 1980 monograph, written by John Dorrance, a U.S. State Department employee who was posted in Fiji in the early 1960s. The paper reveals the main theme of U.S. policy towards the Melanesian/Polynesian islands. A close reading of Dorrance's paper, as well as other position papers, show that "strategic denial" is now the cornerstone of U.S. policy in the region.²

The central tenet of this policy is the "right" of the U.S. to "deny access to the islands to any present or potential enemy and to assure that, whatever political changes may take place the government thereof will remain friendly to the interests of the United States."³ Translated into operational terms this means that the U.S. reserves the right to prevent, by whatever means necessary, any Pacific island state from entering into any foreign relationship of which the U.S. does not approve. It is important to note that this policy is tacitly supported by

the governments of Australia and New Zealand. "Strategic denial" is thus a policy which has enormously important implications for island politics.

Another objective of the U.S. in the Pacific is to form a single regional organization (SRO) in which all of the island states, both north and south of the equator, are members. The U.S. hopes that whatever other purposes an SRO might serve, one of its responsibilities would be to act as a counterinsurgency/internal security force for the region. The U.S. and some of its allies, not limited to Australia and New Zealand, would provide training, military hardware, and money as part of their contribution to the expanded organization. The United States would give advice and collect and disseminate foreign and domestic intelligence but would remain behind the scenes, not to appear to be meddling in the internal security affairs of the Pacific island states. Thus the SRO is possessed of both an internal logic as well as an "aesthetic" quality of its own. An SRO is an important part of the structure necessary to make "strategic denial" work and to facilitate control over client states. An SRO in the Pacific could also be brought into a closer liaison with ASEAN and ANZUS (if it survives) and, in time, part of the edifice of the Japanese idea of a Pacific community.

Military Training

There has been regular and frequent contact between the armed forces of the Pacific island states and the U.S. military. Since 1979, representatives of the Fiji, Tonga, and Papua-New Guinea military have participated in Pacific Armies Management Seminars (PAMS) which have been held in Honolulu, the Philippines, and South Korea. These seminars have a Pacific-Asian flair to them; army delegates as well as internal security specialists come from Pakistan, Bangladesh, France, New Zealand, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Taiwan, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, the U.K., Hong Kong, Brunei, and the Maldives.⁴ A PAMS held in Manila in 1981 was attended by Col. Sitiveni Rabuka of Fiji who later led the coup that overthrew democratically elected President Timoci Bavadra. One of the speakers at that seminar was General Fabian Ver of the Philippines, who later attempted to overthrow Corazon Aquino.⁵

In addition to PAMS there is the Expanded Relations

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1. Another important factor in this region are recently discovered commercially exploitable non-living seabed resources. These include a wide range of strategic minerals, the best known of which are cobalt rich manganese crusts and nodules. Many of these seabed resources lie within the 200-mile expanded maritime jurisdictions which is where, also, some of the world's richest fishing grounds are located.

2. See, for example, Richard Herr, "Preventing a South Pacific Cuba," *New Zealand International Review*, March-April 1982, pp. 13-15; "Admiral Crowe on Defending the Pacific," *Pacific Defence Reporter*, November 1983, pp. 19-22; or William Bodde, Jr., "The South Pacific: Myths and Realities," *One Third of the World*, (Honolulu, 1983), pp. 6-8.

3. Dr. James M. Anthony, "Politics and Political Development in the Pacific," paper presented at the 40th ANZAAS Congress, Christchurch, New Zealand, January 24-31, 1968.

4. Colonel Jack Fitzgerald, "Getting the Pacific Together," *Pacific Defence Reporter*, July 1983, pp. 48-49.

5. *Wellington Confidential*, Wellington, New Zealand, June 1987, no. 36, p. 2.

Belauans Fight to Remain Nuclear Free

by Glenn Alcalay*

The tiny Micronesian nation of Belau became an international cause célèbre in 1979 when its 15,000 inhabitants approved, by a resounding 92% majority, the world's first anti-nuclear constitution. Since then the strategic island state, situated 500 miles east of the Philippines, has experienced a rash of violence and political instability that is disproportionate to the island's relatively small size. At stake, however, is a struggle between Belauans striving to remain nuclear free, and the U.S. Pentagon seeking to create an island "fallback arc" as a contingency for the possible loss of the critical Philippine bases nearby.

For several years, the U.S. has tried to bypass the Belauan anti-nuclear constitution through a series of votes on a "compact" between Belau and the U.S. Although the compact calls for substantial financial assistance for Belau, it also contains provisions which would allow nuclear-powered vessels, as well as nuclear-laden ships and aircraft, into Belauan territory. Because of these controversial clauses, it has failed to receive the necessary 75% approval after six different elections.

Belau has been plagued by instability and violence since its anti-nuclear legislation was shepherded through the 1979 constitutional convention by its chair and first elected president, Haruo Remeliik. On September 8, 1981, less than a year after Remeliik became president, a series of

suspicious events shook the island. Beginning at dawn, several protestors removed and burned the Belauan flag in front of the President's office. Soon afterwards, a bomb blew out the front door of Remeliik's office building and within minutes another bomb similarly shattered the back door. The offices were then destroyed by arson and an hour later the radio station was dynamited.¹ Many Belauans thought these acts were an attempt to destabilize the government and undermine its anti-nuclear stance.

During this period of constitutional crisis over the nuclear issue, another crisis was burgeoning. Having made an unsavory and hotly contested deal with a British energy contractor, International Power Systems Company (IP-SECO), to build a 16-megawatt diesel power plant at a cost of \$32 million, Belau was about to default on its loan payment for the plant. On the night of June 30, 1985, President Remeliik was assassinated in front of his house upon return from an evening fishing trip. Many people in Belau believed that the U.S. was involved in the murder, and pointed to the failure by Remeliik to deliver the necessary compact votes in the two previous plebiscites. It was later discovered by New York City-based ACLU lawyers who became involved in the case that Remeliik was scheduled to appear on national television the day after his murder to expose a major financial scandal concerning kickbacks for the IP-

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1. David Robie, "Nuclear Trust," *New Zealand Listener*, September 5, 1987, p. 35.

Program (ERP) which the U.S. Army administers from Fort Shafter, Hawaii. Fiji, Tonga and Papua-New Guinea have also sent senior officers to these seminars which, like PAMS, deal with such issues as "internal defense." "These armies," as one writer reminds us, "are, in short, a side door for American influence in the region. To put it another way, the 'expanded relations' with the U.S. Army achieved through ERP may jeopardize the free, democratic formulation of foreign policy [and more] in the nations involved."⁶ Such activities have in other parts of the world paved the way for American intervention in domestic politics.⁷

6. Owen Wilkes, "Militarization and Nuclearization of the Pacific," proceedings from the Nuclear Free and Independence Pacific Conference, 1983, p.48.

7. In January 1983, for example, an announcement was made in Fiji that Fijian soldiers and naval officers would be provided with training in the U.S., at the expense of the U.S. government, to enable them to operate any U.S. made weapon. When the Prime Minister Ratu Mara returned from his visit to the White House in November 1984 he came back with a promise of \$400,000 for the Fijian army. In May 1987, the Fijian military used these weapons and training to overthrow the government of Dr. Timoci Bavadra.

CINCPAC Headquarters in Honolulu provides a wide range of Pacific island government representatives with briefings on selected security matters including the "Soviet threat in the Pacific." One of the problems with such high level briefings, whether from U.S. or other sources, is that Pacific island governments have no independent means on which they can rely to distinguish between information and disinformation.

Agencies in Question

In order to give effect to these policies, the United States has established and enlarged its Pacific Islands section in the State Department. Its diplomatic representation in the Pacific, notably in Fiji, has been increased substantially. Educational, cultural, military, economic, and other activities and contacts have also grown. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) is increasingly involved in the South Pacific both directly and indirectly. For example, AID provides funds for the Foundation for People's of the South Pacific, the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Asia

SECO power plant contract.²

With Belau in a state of paralysis, Lazarus Salii was elected President in the wake of Remeliik's death. Salii, a longtime Washington lobbyist for the compact, was a close ally of the Reagan Administration who shared the Administration's virulent anti-communist ideology. It was no surprise when Salii met with John Whitehall, in February 1987, to denounce the anti-nuclear and pro-constitution Belauan faction.³ Whitehall charged the anti-nuclear faction in Belau with receiving aid and a printing press from the communist parties in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand in order to defeat Washington's compact.⁴

Following the fifth defeat of the compact on June 30, 1987, President Salii furloughed 900 of 1300 government workers (about 60% of the labor force) after citing "economic turmoil." In protest, the laid off workers stormed violently through Belau's capital of Koror. Belau's High Chief Ibedul Gibbons charged that the demonstrators were being orchestrated by President Salii. Gibbons further stated that "This whole thing is part of a destabilization plan being carried out with the tacit approval, if not with the active participation, of Washington." "The aim," said Gibbons, "is to put the compact into force and eliminate our nuclear-free constitution and our land rights despite the clearly expressed democratic will of the Belauan people."⁵

On the evening of September 7, 1987, some men drove

2. David Richenthal, et al., "Assassination of President Remeliik of Belau," ACLU Briefing Paper, New York, NY, September 1, 1986, p. 10.

3. For more on the activities of John Whitehall see Howard Golden-enthal, "The Religious Right in the Philippines," in this issue.

4. "Australian Concerned About Communist Infiltration in Belau," *The Belau Gazette*, Koror, February 16, 1987.

5. Press release by High Chief Ibedul Gibbons, Koror, Belau, July 7, 1987.

up to the law office of Roman Bedor, a key figure in Belau's anti-nuclear struggle. In pitch darkness, due to a power blackout imposed by President Salii, the men fired several shots at a silhouetted figure in the law office, thinking it to be the lawyer. Mistakenly, the gunmen shot and murdered Bings Bedor, his father. On the same evening as the murder of Bedor, several firebombings also occurred, including the house of Gabriela Ngirmang. Ngirmang is a leader of a women's group who are trying to maintain the anti-nuclear constitution through a legal challenge in the Belauan courts.

Since the inception of Belau's nuclear-free constitution in 1979, the U.S. has forced the islanders to vote in nine subsequent plebiscites, including 6 votes on the compact, in order to attempt to rescind the nuclear ban. Recently, an article in the *San Jose Mercury News* revealed that the British IPSECO firm—which has since become bankrupt—paid \$450,000 to some Belau leaders, including \$100,000 to President Salii and \$250,000 to his brother Carlos, as "retainer fees" for the power plant contract.⁶

With Belau facing severe economic chaos over the defaulted IPSECO loan, and with the residents of Koror bracing for possible upsurges of renewed violence, the U.S. Congress has just ordered a General Accounting Office audit of the tiny Pacific nation's financial crisis. And with the troubled nation in political limbo, the Trusteeship Council of the U.N. is awaiting word from Congress about the disposition of Belau's compact status. Having taken every conceivable advantage of Belau's vulnerable situation, the U.S. sits poised to add the island nation to its fallback arc.

6. Peter Carey, "U.S.-Backed Officials Pocket \$450,000 on Strategic Island," *San Jose Mercury News*, November 29, 1987.

Foundation. The Pacific Islands Development Program located at the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii also has close links to AID and the State Department. These institutions help promote U.S. interests in the South Pacific and in the case of the Asia Foundation and the Summer Institute for Linguistics, provide a cover for CIA activities.⁸

Several of these organizations participated in "Oceania at a Crossroad," a two-day conference held in Washington, D.C. in September 1986. The conference was sponsored by the rightwing Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and participants included members from AID, the Pentagon, the National Security Council, the Heritage Foundation, the Asia Foundation, the East-West Center, the *Washington Times*, and the CIA-linked Copley News Service. Both Ray Cline, former CIA deputy director and Gaston Sigur, of Irangate fame, spoke at the conference.⁹ The con-

8. For more information on the Summer Institute for Linguistics and the Asia Foundation see *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Winter 1983, pp. 41-46 and *The National Reporter*, Fall/Winter 1986, p. 4.

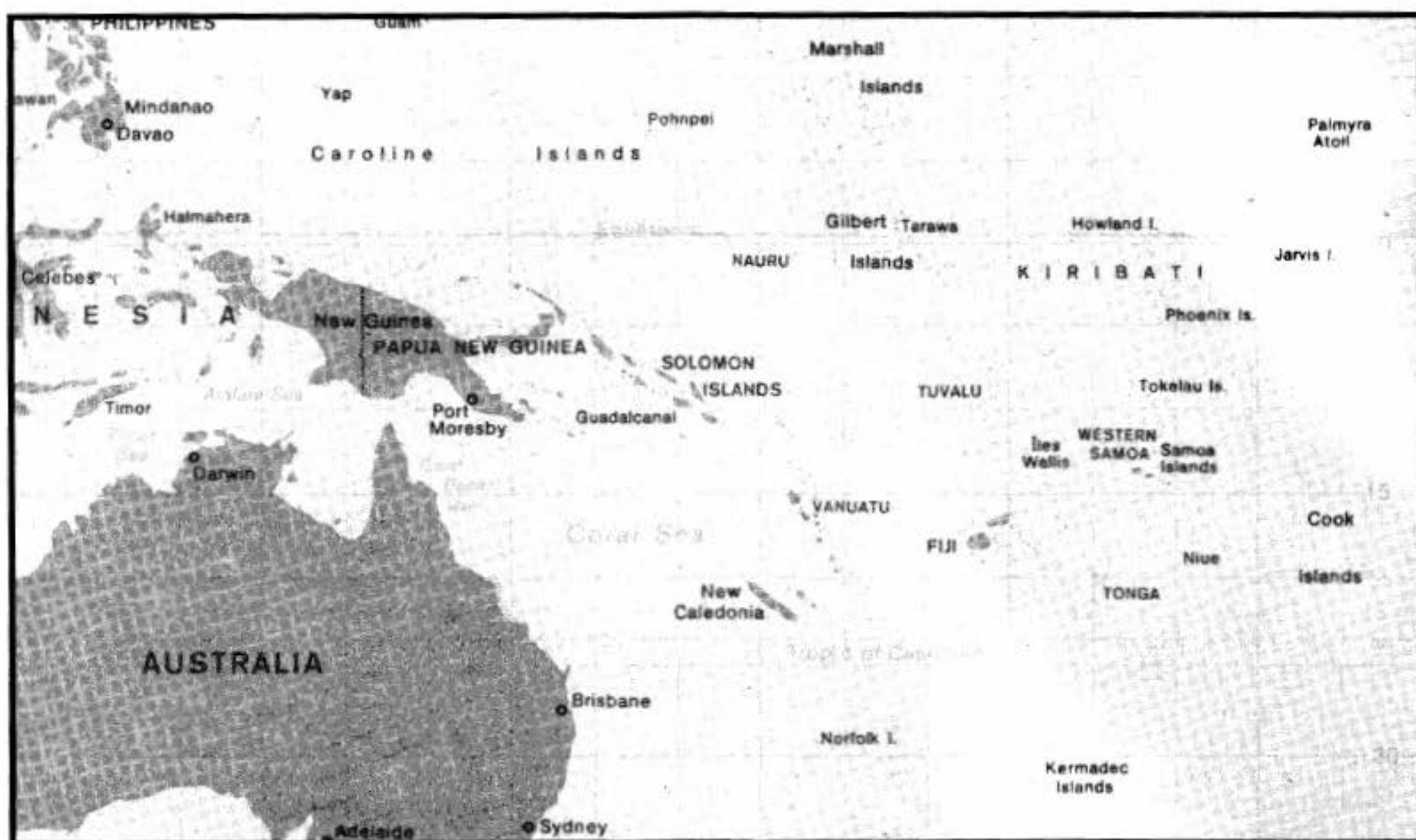
9. *Wellington Pacific Report*, September 28, 1987, no. 3.

ference was an attempt to set forth U.S. policy and goals in the Pacific and as Owen Wilkes, editor of the *Wellington Pacific Report* notes, "these conferences seem very successful in so far as participants subsequently often feature quite prominently in the news media, acting as mouthpieces for U.S. information and disinformation."¹⁰

Labor movements in the Pacific have also been targeted for U.S. intervention. From March 12 to 16, 1984 a closed conference of South Pacific labor leaders was held at the East-West Center in Honolulu. It was co-sponsored by the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) and the Asian Regional Organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). AAFLI has ties with the Labor Committee for Pacific Affairs—both are outgrowths of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development. Ties between AAFLI and the CIA are also well known.¹¹

10. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

11. For more on AIFLD in the Pacific see Adele Oltman and Dennis Bernstein, "Counterinsurgency in the Philippines," in this issue.



Fiji, Case in Point

After almost a ten year AAFLI courtship with the Fiji Trade Union Congress (FTUC), during which time AAFLI wooed it with research assistantships, travel grants, financial aid and money to buy furniture, AAFLI established a base of operations in Fiji. With the assistance of FTUC president James Raman, AAFLI opened its new South Pacific headquarters in Suva in September 1984. AAFLI worked in tandem with operatives from Histadrat, the Israeli national trade union organization and the Israel-based Afro-Asian Institute. In 1986, the AAFLI office was relocated to Honolulu after reports in the Australian press showed it was gathering intelligence for the U.S. government.¹²

In the 1982 Fijian election, the U.S. worked to help get Ratu Mara elected Prime Minister and then lobbied hard once he was in office. During the campaign, Mara seemed obsessed with the idea that the Soviet Union had contributed millions of dollars to his opponent's campaign. Mara claimed that the Soviet Union did not want him in office because he would minimize their influence in the Pacific. Mara dropped these charges after a Fijian Royal Commission of Inquiry began to investigate his claim.

The Commission revealed that a company named "Business International" had been hired by Mara as a consultant. Business International has ties to the CIA and it was speculated that they provided cover for a team of four Australians whose expertise was putting together a campaign of dirty tricks for incumbent governments to use during elections. The

Fijian Royal Commission of Inquiry called these tactics "wholly repugnant."¹³

In August 1982, Prime Minister Mara travelled to CINCPAC headquarters with U.S. Ambassador Fred Eckert for "confidential" discussions with Admiral Long and General Palastra. After this visit he increased Fiji's ties to the U.S. Before the end of the year, Mara announced to a meeting of the Fijian Cabinet that Fiji's ban on American nuclear-powered and nuclear-carrying ships would be lifted forthwith. This matter was not even on the agenda of the cabinet meeting.

Fiji is important to the U.S. for several reasons. It is seen as a possible site for a naval base, a subject which was discussed at the highest levels of the Mara government. An American base in Fiji could act as a partial replacement for Subic Naval Station or Clark Air Force Base if the U.S. loses its lease in the Philippines. Fiji is an ideal candidate because of relatively cheap, unemployed labor, good infrastructure, communications, ports and airfields, and a craving for development at any costs. U.S. involvement in the recent coup shows just how important Fiji is to the U.S.

But Fiji is just one example of U.S. meddling in the South Pacific. The guerrilla war in the Philippines and the increased possibility that the U.S. may lose its military bases there, as well as political turmoil in many other neighboring countries, force the U.S. to look to other Pacific islands as foundations for its control over the region. Without a strong grasp on the Pacific, the U.S. could forfeit its ability to project power, through its nuclear navy, into Asia and beyond. ●

12. *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 17, 1986.

13. Owen Wilkes, "CIA Lays The Groundwork," *Unity*, June 1, 1987.

The U.S. in Fiji:

A Coup In Question

by Max Watts and Mark James*

"I am positive that these Fijian soldiers, these so-called Fijian soldiers, who invaded our parliament were in fact U.S. marines."¹

This startling claim comes from Noor Dean, Deputy Speaker of the now deposed Bavadra government. A third generation Indo-Fijian, Noor Dean graduated from Grays Inn, London, as a barrister in 1980. He was serving his first term as a member of the Fijian parliament as part of the Labour Party coalition government when the political stability of Fiji was shattered on May 14, 1987 by Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka's military coup.

Other allegations have arisen regarding the U.S. role in the coup. A visit by ex-CIA deputy director, now U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Vernon Walters 12 days before the coup; a mysterious U.S. C-130 transport plane flight into Fiji two days prior to the coup; and links between a U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) official and far right Fijian politicians have all raised questions about the possible role of the U.S. government in the overthrow of the progressive Bavadra government.²

Reason to Intervene

Fiji was a founder in the nuclear-free South Pacific movement, demanding an end to port-calls by *all* ships that were nuclear-powered or carried nuclear weapons. The U.S. government saw this position as a fundamental threat to its naval control of the Pacific. Not surprisingly, the over-thrown Labour government of Timoci Bavadra was fully behind the nuclear ban.

*Max Watts is a journalist for various European and Australian newspapers and radio stations. Mark James is a reporter for Sydney Educational Radio (2SER), a respected independent station.

1. A similar claim comes from Rosemary Gillespie, a Melbourne, Australia law student who had previously worked for the conservative Mara government, but who had revealed U.S. CIA involvement in the 1982 elections. She was arrested by the military during a visit to Fiji on August 15, 1987. Gillespie had been gathering evidence concerning foreign involvement in the coup and had found a witness who was in parliament at the time of the coup. The witness said, "I looked into the eyes of one of the soldiers (during the coup). He was not a Fijian. He was wearing white gloves and a Balaclava (ski mask) and I could only see his eyes. He was a fair man. He was not a black man and he could not have been Indian." Gillespie was interrogated eight times during her detention and was threatened with knifing and hanging. She was later released without charge.

2. Col. Rabuka may have had military help from other friends as well. Shortly before the coup, a secret shipment of Uzi machine guns arrived from Singapore, which is a center for Israeli arms shipments. Since New Zealand and other nations refuse to recognize the Rabuka government, Israel has announced plans to open an embassy in January. From *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, November 1987. Subscriptions to IFA can be obtained from: Israeli Foreign Affairs, P.O. Box 19580, Sacramento CA, 95819.

William Bodde, Jr., U.S. Ambassador to Fiji, speaking at a luncheon at the Kanala Hilton in Hawaii in 1982, called the nuclear ban, "The most potentially disruptive development for U.S. relations with the region...a nuclear free zone would be unacceptable to the United States given our strategic needs. I am convinced that the United States must do everything possible to counter this movement. It will not be an easy task, but it is one that we cannot afford to neglect."

After the coup, former Prime Minister Ratu Mara—a strong U.S. supporter—claimed that Secretary of State George Shultz had "given his blessings to the post-coup provisional government, and that the U.S. was on stand-by to help if needed."³ These claims were vigorously denied by the U.S. Embassy in Fiji.

It is undoubtedly true that the CIA played a role in destabilizing the Bavadra government but what remains to be discovered is the extent of U.S. military intervention on the side of Col. Rabuka before and during the coup.

C-130s and Inconsistencies

On November 16, six months after the coup, the *Sydney Morning Herald* published a lengthy article by William Lane, U.S. Ambassador to Australia, entitled, "The Real Behind-The-Scenes Story of Fiji's Coup."⁴

Ambassador Lane wrote the article to refute the "widespread 'disinformation' efforts by several individuals and journals to convince the public that the U.S. Government was involved in some fashion in these coups—especially the first."⁵

Regarding U.S. C-130 flights into Fiji prior to the coup, Lane wrote, "Mission records and service logs show there were no U.S. C-130s in Fiji around the time of the May 14 coup."⁶

Contrary to Ambassador Lane's denials, Noor Dean and other Fijian sources state, "a C-130 plane, a transport plane, came to Nadi Airport, two days prior to the coup."⁷ Fijian air-

3. *Evening Post*, May 26, 1987.

4. William Lane, Jr., U.S. Ambassador to Australia "The Real Behind-The-Scenes Story of The Fiji Coup," *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 16, 1987, p. 19.

5. Much of Lane's article was copied, often verbatim but without citing the original author, from an eight page U.S. Information Agency (USIA) report, entitled: "Disinformation and the Fiji Military Coup" written by Mike Gould, a public affairs officer in the U.S. Embassy in Wellington, New Zealand/Aoteroa, October 22, 1987.

6. *Op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 19.

7. Interview with Noor Dean, former Deputy Speaker of Fijian parliament, June 16, 1987.

AAFLI and the CIA

Some digging by the *Sydney Morning Herald*¹ and its investigative reporter David McKnight, including the use of the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, has turned up evidence of some interesting facts:

- The opening of the Suva, Fiji office of the Asian American Free Labour Institute (AAFLI) in October 1984 was part of a massive campaign to defeat the nuclear-free Pacific resolution proposed by the Pacific Trade Union Forum. A million dollars was devoted to this effort to "neutralize the domino effect" of New Zealand's anti-nuclear position. The office moved to Hawaii in 1986 after being accused by Australian and New Zealand newspapers of gathering intelligence for the U.S. government.

- AAFLI operations are funded both by some \$4 million from the Agency for International Development (AID), and \$3.3 million from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

- AAFLI and its parent AIFLD (and its sister organization, the African American Labor Institute) have long had documented ties to the CIA, and their combined budgets are almost equal to that of the AFL-CIO.

- The "Pacific Basin Democratic Development Project" is funded at \$150,000 by NED and administered by the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRIIA), a rightwing Republican Party organization. NRIIA is also funding another organization involved in the Pacific Basin project, the Pacific Democratic Union, an interparliamentary body which was meeting in Fiji as the coup took place.

1. David McKnight, "The CIA's Long History in the Pacific," *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 19, 1987; quoted and discussed in Joann Wypijewski, "The Fiji Coup: Was America to Blame?" *Pacific Islands Monthly*, October 1987, reprinted from *The Nation*, August 15, 1987.

- It is interesting to note that an AAFLI funding request to the NED in 1986, contained the following language:

The trade unions of the island nations of the South Pacific are fragile institutions...their ability to see distinctions between the Soviet bloc and the democratic nations of the world is sometimes clouded, especially when emotional issues such as colonialism, nuclear testing, and economic protection zones are introduced into the discussion...With the exceptions of political parties, these trade union organizations are the largest mass organs in their countries.

That statement is very important in light of this comment:

Anyone seeking to act covertly must select key influential personalities in each country who may be useful. Then they must study the desires, ambitions, prejudices and vulnerabilities of such people to see how they may be manipulated.

The author of that candid description of subversion is none other than Vernon A. Walters,² (a subversion expert in his own right) and the its lesson was surely not lost on Col. Rabuka.³

2. Vernon A. Walters, "The Uses of Political and Propaganda Covert Action in the 1980s," in Roy Godson, ed., *Intelligence Requirements for the 1980s: Covert Action* (Washington: Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, 1980), p. 121.

3. Interestingly, Col. Rabuka studied at Wellington Staff College in India where he wrote his master's thesis on overthrowing governments by military coup.

port customs and immigration officials said that on May 12th a U.S. C-130 military transport plane touched down at Nadi airport with 15 black U.S. Marines on board. Airport records note that the plane left approximately 36 hours after the coup.

Ambassador Lane admits that several U.S. military transport planes landed in Fiji after the coup. He claims however, that these planes were on medical missions including "an emergency evacuation by a C-130 of an injured American sailor flown into Nadi from another American ship."

Ambassador Lane doesn't explain why three airplanes would be needed to evacuate one sailor who was injured in a fall. He also failed to mention that the ship the "injured" soldier was being evacuated from was the USS Belleau Wood which houses a U.S. Marine task force and was conveniently off the coast of Fiji after the coup.

Other U.S. C-130s touched down in Fiji after the coup. On

June 8, a C-130 landed at Nausori airport and all civilian airport personnel were kept away from the plane. All servicing of the plane, refueling and unloading was carried out by Fijian the military. Six vans under Red Cross signs met the plane and boxes and crates marked with Red Cross insignias were unloaded. According to civilian airport personnel who managed to observe the scene, there were up to fifty U.S. Marines on board the C-130.⁸

Furthermore, such irregular flights have continued since the second coup of September 25, which brought further repression to Fiji, including arbitrary arrest and torture.

On October 12, a large U.S. Air Force C-141 transport arrived at Nadi from Honolulu and a U.S. military helicopter flew in to meet it. Such a C-141 flight to Fiji is very rare if not unprecedented. Fijian soldiers at Nadi knew nothing of these

8. Interview with Fijian pilot, broadcast repeatedly by 2SER, August 1987.

arrivals and urgently requested information from a higher command. Transfers between the helicopter, truck and C-141 were hidden from airport personnel. The C-141 returned to Honolulu and the U.S. Embassy once again termed the operation a "medical run."

Noor Dean was baffled by all the C-130 flights. He said, "Prior to this there was no inkling that any American soldiers would come into the country. American military planes have only come to Fiji after a cyclone has hit and we needed supplies, support, relief, etc."

Walters Strikes Again

The role of General Vernon Walters in the destabilization of foreign governments is well known.⁹ Therefore, it is interesting to note that Walters arrived in Fiji on April 30, two weeks before the coup. During his visit he held talks with the newly elected Fijian Foreign Minister, Krishna Datt, to discuss problems arising from the Bavadra government's decision to introduce a ban on nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed warships.¹⁰

During Walters' South Pacific tour he spread rumors about Libyan "terrorist" activities in Australia, Samoa, and Vanuatu. Walters got the U.S. Navy involved in the charade when Admiral "Ace" Lyons, commander-in-chief of the U.S. South Pacific fleet, announced that he would use naval force against any Libyan activity in the South Pacific. Walters provided the perfect diversion from the coup planning in Fiji; while most journalists in the region were off in Vanuatu looking for Libyans, Bavadra was being overthrown.

Walters was visiting Fiji as part of a ten country South Pacific tour. It is curious that he would choose to spend three days in such a small country and curious as well that he would meet with Col. Rabuka (the soon-to-be Prime Minister) and AID official William Paupe.

Who is William Paupe?

In 1983 Fijian Prime Minister Ratu Mara was voted "Man of the Year" by the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific. This foundation is funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development. When AID opened a South Pacific regional office in Suva it was headed by William Paupe.¹¹ Through this office, Paupe has allegedly help pass CIA money

9. See Ellen Ray and William Schaap, "Vernon Walters: Crypto-diplomat and Terrorist," *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, n. 26 (Summer 1987), pp. 3-8.

10. In an interview in Sydney, Joelle Kalau, the Minister of Labor and Immigration in the Bavadra government said that during his talks with Foreign Minister Krishna Datt on May 1, Vernon Walters apparently said in a jocular fashion, "Coups follow me around. If a coup were to happen here that would be an accident. It would have nothing to do with me." When Datt told other ministers, they were perplexed that the subject should be mentioned, but took it as a joke. Two weeks later, they stopped laughing.

11. Paupe has served in other "sensitive" locations as well. He was in Vietnam from 1966 to 1970 and 1972 to 1975 always holding the position of Deputy Assistant for Public Health in the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) mission in Saigon. AID was a conduit for money to support the U.S. military's strategic hamlet program and train South Vietnam police. Paupe was also allegedly involved in training the palace guards of Ferdinand Marcos together with British mercenary Graeme Gibson. Owen Wilkes, "U.S. Involvement in the Fiji Coup," *Wellington Confidential*, n. 36, June 1987, p. 2.

to members of the Taukei movement, a right-wing extremist group with anti-Indian racist policies, fanatically opposed to the Bavadra government.¹¹

Apisai Tora, Minister of Transportation in the Mara government and a Taukei activist, was asked about the funding. He deemed claims that he received \$200,000 from CIA funds via William Paupe as "lies." However, Tora did admit receiving \$25,000 from Mr. Paupe to build a community hut in his home village of Natalau. When asked about the absence of any such hut, Tora stated that construction had begun, but that the building had been blown away by the 1985 hurricane. According to Bavadra supporters, Tora has however built a house worth some \$300,000, which would have been hard to



Credit: Fiji Sun

William Paupe: After a long history in U.S. AID Vietnam pacification programs, he's now in Fiji.

finance on his official salary. Weeks prior to the coup, Tora was arrested on charges that he helped organize riots and fire bombings that helped pave the way for the coup.¹²

Is it, as William Paupe says, "absurd" to link the AID Southern Pacific Regional Director to the coup?

On November 14, 1987 Australian television aired a documentary about foreign involvement in the Fijian coup. Dateline's director, Wendy Bacon, has uncovered considerable evidence regarding the role of William Paupe in the coup and his relations with Fijian extremists.¹³

In early 1987, another Dateline documentary showed footage of William Paupe actively campaigning against the Fiji Labour Party Coalition and openly supporting the conservative alliance led by Ratu Mara. In 1986 Bavadra described Paupe's activities as, "Political interference...by a foreign government...there is no room for such things here in Fiji."¹⁴

After the Labour Coalition victory on April 12, 1987, Prime Minister Bavadra called U.S. Ambassador Ed Dillery to his office. Bavadra remembers the meeting, "I told him that [Apisai] Tora...a leading Taukei activist was heard to have said...he was given a large sum of money by the CIA to seed

12. *Ibid.*

13. Special Broadcasting System, Sydney, Australia, Dateline, November 14, 1987.

14. Special Broadcasting System, Sydney, Australia, Dateline, February 22, 1987.

Taukei activities too...the name of Bill Paupe was mentioned."¹⁵

William Sutherland, a political advisor to Prime Minister Bavadra who was present at the meeting, said later, "He [Ambassador Dillery], rang back about half an hour later and said 'Yes, there had been a relationship between William Paupe and Apisai Tora, and that relationship did indeed continue after the election and that he [Dillery] had asked Mr. Paupe to terminate this relationship with Tora.'"¹⁶

Sutherland continued, "Dillery said that William Paupe had at his disposal something known as the 'Grand Fund' or



Credit: Fiji Times

Rightwing leader Apisai Tora.

some such title over which he [Paupe] had discretionary authority. Presumably Mr. Paupe would be free to dispense with [sic] those funds in the way he thought fit."¹⁷

Other Friends of William Paupe

Richard E. Cyrus, a self-described "extreme anti-communist," first appeared at the U.S. Embassy in Fiji before the coup. At that time Cyrus was still in the United States Navy special forces and wore his uniform. When Bavadra aide Richard Naidu investigated Cyrus's activities, and spoke about them with Ambassador Dillery, Naidu was told that Cyrus was in Fiji on a private visit. The fact that he wore his Navy uniform was a source of embarrassment to the embassy.

Naidu said later, "We were told that he was retired and that it was against regulations for him to be in uniform."¹⁸ In fact, it was not until months later, in September 1987, that Cyrus was officially retired from the Navy. By that time, he had become a vice-president of a Fijian corporation called External Trade Organization (ETO) which operated throughout the South Pacific.

ETO is run by New Zealander Paul Freeman, another friend of William Paupe's. Freeman left New Zealand in 1975, having been involved in an attempt to destabilize the Labour government there. He now has very close relationships with Col. Rabuka and Rabuka's second in command Colonel Pio Wong. Freeman has past military experience which he immediately placed at the disposal of the coup leaders.

William Paupe claims that Freeman is an expert on "coconut cream." Richard Cyrus however, claims that coconut-expert Freeman is more interested in the profits from weapons sales than from coconuts.¹⁹

When Fijian army strength was tripled after the coup, Freeman reportedly organized and participated in an overseas weapons buying mission together with Col. Wong and Ratu Mara. After this mission, crates arrived in Fiji without customs control identified as "personal items for soldiers on a shopping spree."

Recently, a military strategy meeting held at ETO included Richard Cyrus and former U.S. Air Force Colonel Larry McKenna. McKenna claims to be building a tourist resort at Savu Savu Bay at a time when Fiji's tourist business is at a complete standstill. Paul Freeman, on the Dateline program, stated that McKenna was working for a U.S. intelligence agency. McKenna, when asked what he was doing at the ETO meeting, explained that he had come to see Cyrus.

The USNS Mercy: Medical Prevention?

During his visit to Fiji in May, Vernon Walters also suggested a courtesy visit by an American hospital ship. Krishna Datt, anxious to prevent any further deterioration of relations with the United States, accepted this proposition.

In late June the U.S. hospital ship "Mercy" arrived. The Mercy is normally staffed by 65 civilians, 820 Naval medics, and 38 Navy support men but according to sources in Suva, her crew includes armed Marines. Planned visits by Fijian medical personnel to the hospital ship were cancelled without explanations.

In justifying the Mercy's visit, Ambassador Lane stated, "In a mission planned long before the May 14 coup and involving port calls in other island states, the hospital ship USNS Mercy between June 23-27 (long after the coup) visited Suva to provide health care and medical training. There was no 'veil of secrecy' surrounding the Mercy's visit."²⁰

Contrary to Lane's justification for the Mercy visit is a more honest appraisal by Major General William P. Winkler, head of the Academy of Health Sciences, who said, "Military medicine is the least controversial (sic), most cost-effective means of employing military forces in support of U.S. national interest in low intensity conflict situations."²¹ Maybe the U.S. Navy and General Walters were interested in something other than the health of native Fijians.

The Mercy, the C-130 flights, CIA payoffs to opposition leaders, and a visit by the infamous Vernon Walters — as the pieces of this puzzle come together it becomes clear that the U.S. government, via the CIA, carried out yet another destabilizing covert action to bring about the downfall of a foreign government. As Fiji comes under tighter control of the military, the U.S. again bears responsibility for ouster of a democratically elected government and the rise of a military dictatorship.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Op. cit.*, n. 5.

21. Enrique Delacruz, Aida Jordan and Jorge Emmanuel, *Death Squads in the Philippines*, published by the Alliance for Philippine Concerns, P.O. Box 170219, San Francisco, CA 94117, p. 36.

15. *Op cit.*, n. 14.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

The Islands of Micronesia:

Captives of U.S. Nuclear Strategy

by Glenn Alcalay

Ed. Note: No treatment of U.S. intervention in the South Pacific would be complete without first examining the overriding U.S. interest in the region. The South Pacific is pivotal in projecting U.S. military power and as a vast testing ground for U.S. nuclear weapons. In this article, South Pacific researcher Glenn Alcalay gives an overview of U.S. nuclear testing in Micronesia.

After the U.S. used the atomic bomb to destroy Hiroshima and Nagasaki and defeat Japan, they quickly seized the 2,100 islands of Micronesia (formerly known as the Japanese Mandated Islands) as war booty. The U.S. forcibly removed the indigenous peoples of Bikini and Eniwetok in order to convert their once-pristine islands into nuclear weapons laboratories.

In the strategic expanse of the central Pacific Ocean the tiny islands of Micronesia between Hawaii and the Philippines continue to serve the Pentagon. Since 1959, Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands has been used as a "catcher's mitt" to perfect the accuracy of incoming intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) shot from Vandenberg Air Force Base (California) and elsewhere. Kwajalein has also served as an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) testing site and is today considered a vital military site for "Star Wars" and antisatellite (ASAT) development.

Belau, in the western-most corner of Micronesia (and a mere 500 miles from Mindanao in the Philippines) is viewed by Washington war planners as a prospective Trident submarine base, as well as guerrilla warfare training area and amphibious base. Together with the islands of Guam (which bristles with nuclear weapons), Saipan,¹ Tinian, and Rota, Belau completes a "fallback arc" in the event the critical bases in the Philippines are not renewed beyond the 1991 lease expiration date.

The islands of Micronesia have played, and will continue to play, an important role in consolidating the U.S.'s strategic posture well into the 21st century.

1. The island of Saipan in the Northern Marianas was used in the 1950s and 1960s as a CIA training base for Nationalist Chinese guerrillas. According to a memorandum from Gen. Edward G. Landsdale, formerly the Pentagon's chief counterinsurgency expert, to Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Kennedy's military adviser, "[the] CIA maintains a field training station on the island of Saipan... The installation is under Navy cover and is known as the Naval Technical Training Unit. The primary mission of the Saipan Training Station is to provide physical facilities and competent instructor personnel to fulfill a variety of training requirements including intelligence tradecraft, communications, counterintelligence and psychological warfare techniques. Training is in support of CIA activities conducted throughout the Far East area.

Early Period of U.S. Rule

At war's end, the U.S. took possession of Micronesia (pop. 150,000), comprising of the Northern Marianas, Belau, the Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Truk, Pohnpei, Kosrae), and the Marshall Islands. In 1947, the U.S. became the administering authority of the United Nations-sanctioned Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the only "strategic" trust of the eleven U.N.-supervised territories created after the war. Under Article 6 of the U.N. trust agreement, the U.S. pledged to "protect the inhabitants against the loss of their lands and resources," and also to "protect the health of the inhabitants."²

On January 24, 1946, the U.S. announced that it had selected Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands for the public spectacle known as "Operation Crossroads" to demonstrate—especially to the Soviet Union—the awesome capability of its new atomic weapon on a fleet of World War II naval ships. Even before the dust had completely settled at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the U.S.—with its atomic monopoly—was eager to set the post-war stage in a dramatic way.

Commodore Ben Wyatt, the military governor of the Marshalls, arrived at Bikini by seaplane immediately after the island's church service concluded. Capitalizing on the moment and alluding to the Bible, Wyatt "compared the Bikinians to the children of Israel whom the Lord saved from their enemy and led unto the Promised Land."³

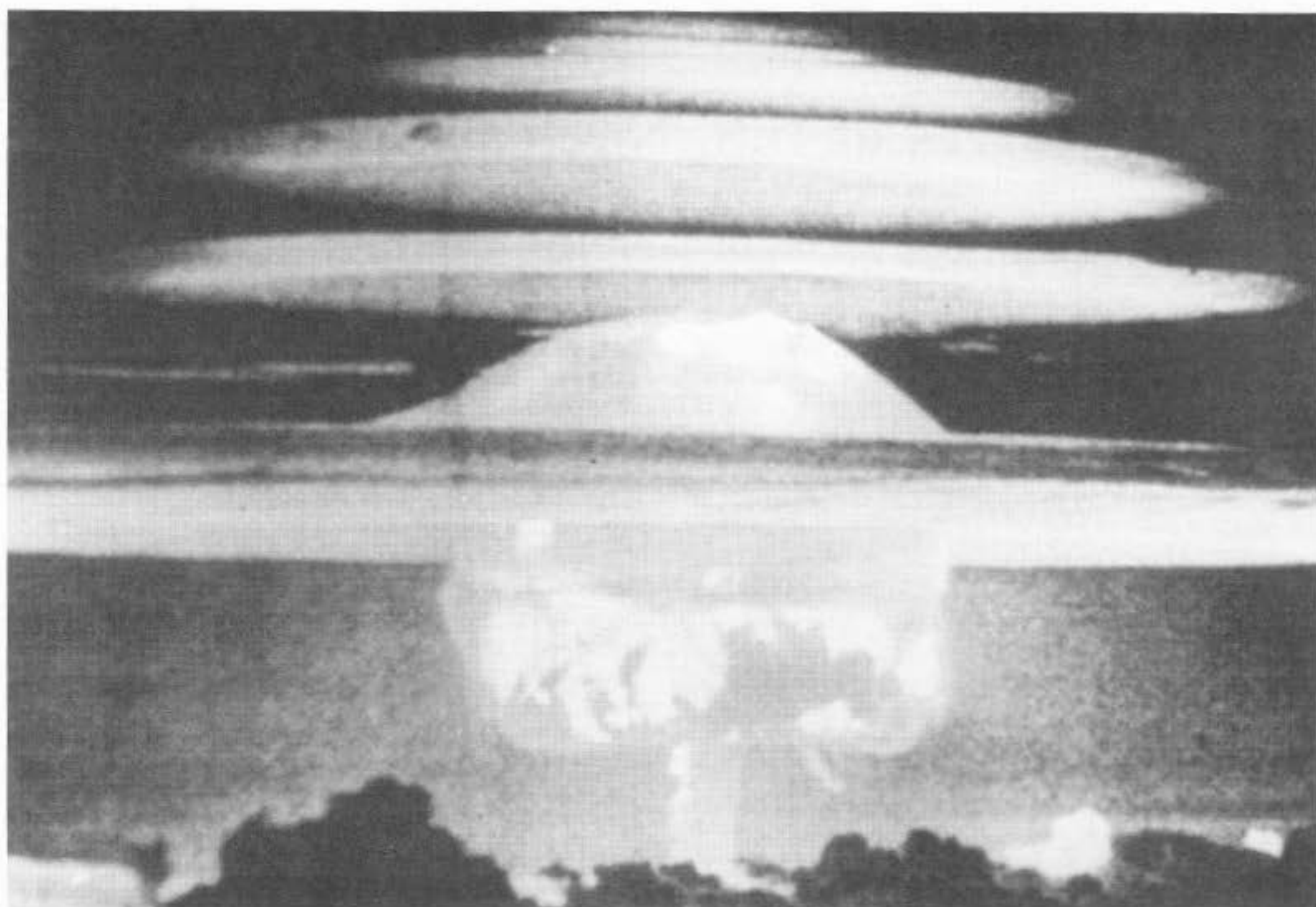
Wyatt told the Bikini people about the bomb and about the destruction it had wrought upon the enemy. In what may be one of the Twentieth Century's greatest swindles, the Commodore further explained that scientists were experimenting with nuclear weapons "for the good of mankind and to end all wars." After some discussion with the village leaders, Juda, the *iroij* (or chief) of Bikini, replied that:

If the United States government and the scientists of the world want to use our island and atoll for furthering development, which with God's blessing will result in kindness and benefit all mankind, my people will be pleased to go elsewhere.⁴

2. Carl Heine, *Micronesia at the Crossroads* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1974), p. 189.

3. Robert Kiste, *The Bikinians* (Menlo Park, California: Cummings Publishing, 1974), p. 27.

4. Leonard Mason, "Relocation of the Bikini Marshallese," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (New Haven: Yale University, 1954), p. 263.



U.S. nuclear testing in the Pacific.

On March 7, less than a month after the Bikinians learned of the U.S. plan to use their island for nuclear testing, the 166 islanders were carted off to uninhabited Rongerik Atoll, 130 miles to the east of Bikini. Rongerik was permanently unpopulated because it was uninhabitable, due to its limited resources that could not sustain a permanent population.⁵

Back at Bikini, Joint Task Force 1 assembled 42,000 military and scientific personnel, 250 ships, and 150 aircraft in preparation for "Operation Crossroads," the first post-war series of atomic tests. On July 1, 1946, a B-29 lobbed a 23-kiloton plutonium bomb, code-named "Able," onto a target array of 93 moth-balled World War II ships. "Baker," the world's first underwater nuclear blast, was detonated on July 25 amid the remaining ships of the target array. The Radiological Safety Section, directed by Col. Stafford Warren, had predicted that if the radioactive column from Baker did not rise more than 10,000 feet, radiological conditions would be "extremely dangerous."⁶

5. Glenn Alcalay, "The Aftermath of Bikini," *The Ecologist* [United Kingdom], Vol. 10, No. 10, 1980, p. 347.

6. U.S. House of Representatives, Hearing of the Committee on Veterans Affairs, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, D.C., May 24, 1983, p. 326.

In fact the column from Baker rose to only 6,000 feet and predictably, the entire Bikini lagoon was engulfed in a highly radioactive mist. The contamination was so serious that the third atomic test of the series, "Charlie," was cancelled.

The Baker atomic test was so harrowing that the final report issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff sounded as if it had been penned by Edgar Allan Poe:

Test Baker gave evidence that the detonation of a bomb in a body of water contiguous to a city would vastly enhance its radiation effects by the creation of a base surge whose mist, contaminated with fission products, and dispersed by the wind over great areas, would have not only an immediately lethal effect, but would establish a long term hazard through the contamination of structures by the deposition of radioactive particles.

We can form no adequate mental picture of the multiple disaster which would befall a modern city, blasted by one or more atomic bombs and enveloped by radioactive mists. Of the survivors in contaminated areas, some would be doomed to die of radiation sickness in hours, some in days, and others in years. But, these areas, irregular in size and shape, as wind and topography might



The result of U.S. nuclear testing in the Pacific.

form them, would have no visible boundaries. No survivor could be certain he was not among the doomed and so, added to every terror of the moment, thousands would be stricken with a fear of death and the uncertainty of the time of its arrival.⁷

Concurrently, the ex-Bikini islanders on Rongerik were having severe problems of their own. Several food staples, including some species of reef fish, pandanus, and coconuts proved to contain toxins. The exiled Bikini people remained on Rongerik in spite of increasingly severe food shortages, and in July 1947 a Navy medic visited the islanders and confirmed that they were visibly suffering from malnutrition. An editorial in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* blasted the U.S. for its callousness:

We could spend tens of millions for the Bikini experiment, but we couldn't spend the tiny time and the trivial money to see that 166 natives were properly cared for where we ordered them to go. We were more interested in promoting death than in sustaining life.⁸

7. *Final Report of the JCS Evaluation Board for Operation Crossroads*, Joint Chiefs of Staff, June 30, 1947, "The Evaluation of the Atomic Bomb as a Military Weapon," p. 84.

8. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 4, 1947.



Credit: Pereira/Greenpeace

Strategic planners in Washington decided to designate Enewetak Atoll as the second nuclear testing site; Bikini was determined to be too radioactive after the dirty Baker test and needed a "cooling off" period. On December 21, 1947, the 145 people of Enewetak were forcibly moved to Ujelang Atoll in readiness for "Operation Sandstone," the 1948 series of nuclear tests which led to the development of Edward Teller's "super" or hydrogen bomb. Like their unfortunate neighbors before them, the Enewetak exiles now living in Ujelang suffered severe hardships associated with their move to a much smaller and less hospitable environment.

Kwajalein and the Arms Race

When the U.S. completed its nuclear weapons test program in the Marshalls in 1958, it had been decided to retain Kwajalein (which had supported the Enewetak and Bikini tests) as a military base. With the world's largest protected lagoon, Kwajalein offered the Pentagon war planners an invaluable opportunity to continue the U.S. strategic build-up.

Serving as a giant "floating target," Kwajalein has been the re-entry point for all ICBMs and SLBMs in the post-war period. When atmospheric testing was driven underground with the partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the qualitative edge for nuclear superiority shifted from the blast of the warhead to the accuracy of the missile delivery system. Most of the data



Admiral Blandy and friends celebrate "Operation Crossroads," the U.S. plan to displace hundreds of Bikini islanders and blanket their homes with deadly radiation.

about missile accuracy for the U.S. arsenal (known as "circular error probable") have been collected from the more than \$2 billion worth of ultra-sophisticated missile radar tracking stations at Kwajalein.

When President Kennedy entered the White House, the Pentagon pushed hard for the Nike-Zeus antiballistic missile (ABM) system despite recommendations from the new President's science advisors that the program be scrapped. But because enough of the ABM hardware had been built beforehand, a Zeus rocket launched in July 1962 from Kwajalein was tested on an incoming missile fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California; the Zeus rocket was the first to succeed in getting within striking distance of the incoming missile.⁹

With Reagan's strategic defense initiative, or "Star Wars," another dangerous escalation in the arms race was begun. And once again, the people of the Marshall Islands have been forced to sacrifice the integrity of their culture and environment for this newest obsession with the age-old myth of missile defense. Ebeye Island—the tiny and treeless 66-acre island at Kwajalein—is known throughout the Pacific as the "ghetto," and is considered a biological "time-bomb." With approximately 10,000 islanders at tiny Ebeye, the U.S. ingeniously grabbed the largest island at Kwajalein for the site of the American base with 3,000 support personnel.

Apart from testing for missile accuracy and "Star Wars," Kwajalein will allow the Pentagon war planners to practice antisatellite (ASAT) technologies, whereby missiles fired from

9. Stanford Research Institute, "Environmental Impact Assessment of Kwajalein Missile Range Operations," August 1975, p. 17.

the ground and air would destroy the Soviet communications satellites that serve as the "eyes and ears" for Soviet missiles. An ultra-modern Altair radar array, which stretches from San Miguel in the Philippines, to Guam, and terminates at Kwajalein, forms the Pacific Barrier ASAT system considered crucial for knocking out Soviet communications satellites in a first-strike by the U.S.¹⁰

The Annexation of Micronesia

In 1962 President Kennedy issued National Security Action Memorandum (NSAM) 145.¹¹ Under a Freedom of Information Act request, portions of this memorandum have been released, which "set forth as U.S. policy the movement of Micronesia into a permanent relationship within the U.S. political framework." Thus document, together with the infamous "Solomon Report" that served as the "master plan" for the implementation of NSAM 145, clearly shows how the U.S. constructed a policy more than twenty years ago to annex the islands of Micronesia in blatant violation of the principles embodied in the 1947 U.N. Trust Agreement. Not surprisingly, most of the Solomon Report is still classified.

As the U.S. winds down its longstanding U.N. trusteeship with Micronesia,¹² a dubious legal document known as the Compact of Free Association will nominally replace the U.N. trust relationship. Under the terms of the Compact, the U.S. will have military options in Micronesia for the next half century. The coveted missile test site at Kwajalein will be used for at least the next 30 years by the U.S. under the Compact for the Marshall Islands, and Belau will be used by the Pentagon for the next 50 years. Having created near-absolute economic dependency during the four decades of U.N. supervised trusteeship, the U.S. essentially annexed the islands of Micronesia for a strategic foothold in the central Pacific well into the Twenty-first Century. As Kwajalein Senator Ataji Balos eloquently stated some years ago, "We have the trust, and the U.S. has the territory." ●

10. Giff Johnson, *Collision Course at Kwajalein: Marshall Islanders in the Shadow of the Bomb*, Pacific Concerns Resource Center, 1984, p. 61. This excellent book is available from the author at P.O. Box 14, Majuro, Marshall Islands 96960.

11. National Security Action Memorandum 145, "New Policy for the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands," April 18, 1962, The White House, Washington, D.C.

12. Beginning in 1969, political leaders throughout Micronesia began high-level status negotiations discussions with the U.S. in an effort to terminate the U.N. trusteeship. When the Micronesian leaders began pushing for independence from the U.S., it was learned that the CIA was used to monitor discussions between the Micronesian leaders. According to a front-page December 2, 1976 *Washington Post* article by Bob Woodward, "The Central Intelligence Agency has regularly been conducting electronic surveillance against representatives of this country's last colony the Pacific island group of Micronesia."

Hayden Williams—the chief negotiator for the Nixon and Ford administrations in the Micronesian status talks—explained to Woodward that the CIA intelligence operation at Saipan was useful "because the Micronesians are tough negotiators." Authors Victor Marchetti and John Marks, in their book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* state that the Asia Foundation, which was headed for many years by Hayden Williams, was established and funded by the CIA. Williams' skill's as a negotiator brought the Northern Marianas into a permanent commonwealth affiliation with the U.S., and with it the strategic islands of Saipan, Tinian, and Rota lying adjacent to Guam.

Human Guinea Pigs for Nuclear Testing:

The Bravo Cover-Up

by Glenn Alcalay

At the beginning of the nuclear age, the U.S. military used humans as guinea pigs to test the effects of fallout from the blasts. After thousands of unsuspecting South Pacific islanders (and some American military personnel) were intentionally caught in dangerous levels of hydrogen bomb fallout, the Atomic Energy Commission (now the Department of Energy) initiated scrupulous medical follow-up studies which continue to the present day. These studies are used to calculate "megadeath" estimates in nuclear war-fighting scenarios.

On March 1, 1954, the U.S. exploded its largest and dirtiest hydrogen bomb on a reef in Bikini. Code-named "Bravo," the fifteen-megaton fusion bomb produced a yield more than 1,000 times the size of the comparatively "tiny" Hiroshima atomic bomb. Not only had the Americans succeeded in designing a small and deliverable hydrogen bomb but they also caused an international furor over highly radioactive fallout from Bravo.

The Lucky Dragon

Caught in the dangerous Bravo fallout was a Japanese fishing trawler, the Lucky Dragon, with 23 fishermen aboard. When the strange white ash descended on the deck of the ship, the men felt a sense of ill-boding; having witnessed what appeared to have been the sun rising in the west, and hearing the loud roar of a thunderous explosion, the arrival of the ash from the sky caused much fear and confusion.¹ After a few hours the entire crew of the fishing boat became ill, and coupled with a poor catch of tuna, the captain ordered the ship back to its home port of Yaizu. Admiral Lewis Strauss, head of the AEC at the time, commented to James Hagerty (President Eisenhower's press secretary) that the Lucky Dragon was not a Japanese fishing boat at all, but was rather a "Red spy outfit" snooping on the American nuclear tests.² At the height of the McCarthy era, Strauss (who coined the infamous term, "Nuclear energy too cheap to meter") also told Hagerty, "If I were the Reds, I would fill the oceans all over the world with radioactive fish. It would be so easy to do."³

Upon arrival at Yaizu—about 120 miles from Tokyo—the fishermen aboard the Lucky Dragon were suffering from nausea, fever, loss of appetite, bleeding gums, and other symptoms of acute radiation sickness. Within two days,

physicians from Tokyo made the obvious diagnosis, and newspapers throughout Japan reported that the fishermen had been stricken by radioactive fallout from a U.S. nuclear test. Mindful of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Japanese public became outraged at having been hit once again by American nuclear weapons. When the radio operator of the fishing boat died six months later of radiation-induced disease, 34 million Japanese signed petitions calling for the abolition of hydrogen bombs.⁴

Despite a rather tepid statement over "this regrettable accident" by the U.S. ambassador, anti-Americanism spread in Japan. Also, when it was discovered that the tuna aboard the Lucky Dragon was highly contaminated, it became clear that much of Japan's tuna caught in Pacific waters might be similarly contaminated and, as a result, the bottom fell out of the Japanese fish market.

When the fallout arrived at Rongelap—about 100 miles east of Bikini—the islanders were puzzled by what they saw falling from the sky; having seen pictures of winter scenes, some islanders likened the gritty ash to snowfall. Jabwe Jorju was the head of Rongelap at the time of Bravo, and later described that traumatic moment:

I was the health aide on Rongelap in 1954. I was very shocked to see the red light in the northwest sky. After some time we heard [what] we later found out to be a hydrogen bomb. Still later we felt a great wind sweep through our island, and all of the trees swayed violently. I never thought that anything like this could ever happen. People came to me complaining about the irritation in their eyes from the sooty-like powder that fell on us. The sun became clouded over at that time with the powder.

Later the next day, two men arrived by sea-plane. They did not say anything to us and made us all very suspicious when they began checking our island with strange gadgets. They left without telling us about what had happened.

By the next day a Navy destroyer came to evacuate us to Kwajalein. On the first evening of the fallout, people came to me and complained about their vomiting, itching and burning of their skin, and other problems. When we arrived at Kwajalein we immediately showered for

1. Stephen Salaff, "The Lucky Dragon," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May 1978, p. 22.

2. Robert Divine, *Blowing on the Wind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 11.

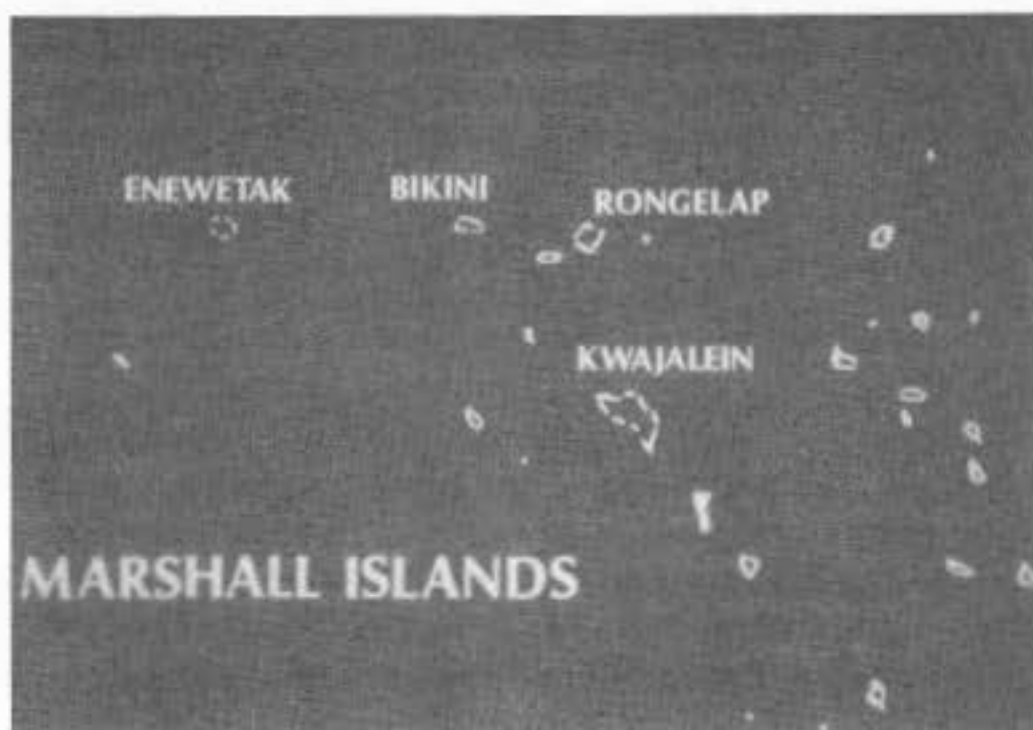
3. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

4. "Aspects of Peace and Security in Asia and the Pacific," *Arena Bulletin Asian Exchange*, Hong Kong, Vol. IV, Nos. 2-3, January 1986, p. 38.

several hours at the military base there. After some days, a medical team flew out from the U.S., and they are still treating us today. After three days we had burns all over our bodies and our hair began to fall out; some people actually went bald. When we asked the AEC doctors to help us understand what had happened, they did not tell us, and still today they do not tell us the truth about our problems.⁵

Fallout Covers Air Force Weathermen

A group of 28 U.S. Air Force weathermen who were on adjacent Rongerik Atoll were likewise covered with radioactive ash. These men were gathering vital wind data for the Bravo bomb 130 miles downwind of Bikini, and had been sending in consistent weather reports for weeks before the Bravo bomb



The Marshall Islands, laboratory for U.S. nuclear tests.

indicating that winds were heading straight at them from Bikini. When the high-level fallout arrived hours after Bravo, the men claimed they were not surprised. Following their second day of exposure to fallout, the 28 men were sent home to the mainland and were forgotten.

Recently some of these men resurfaced, and in a damning September 20, 1982 *New York Times* interview, challenged the U.S. Government's long standing allegation that "sudden wind shifts" at the time of Bravo caused the contamination of the downwind atolls and the Japanese fishing trawler.

Gene Curbow, the senior weather technician on Rongerik for the 1954 Bikini test, told the *New York Times* that "The wind was blowing straight at us before, during, and after the test. The wind never shifted." When asked why he had taken nearly thirty years to bring this vital information to light, Curbow stated that "It was a mixture of patriotism and ignorance, I guess."

Recently, under a Freedom of Information Act request, some startling radiation data about the early contamination levels among the Rongerik airmen has surfaced. These newly-

5. Glenn Alcalay, Field Report, Marshall Islands, unpublished interviews of Marshall Islanders, 1981.

released medical records indicate that the government predicted an increase in leukemia, bone cancer, and lung cancer among these men in future years. One salient document states that "Upon discharge all 28 men were in a cheerful mood and it appeared that, in their minds, the incident was past history."⁶

At the annual Trusteeship Council meeting of the U.N. in July 1954, the Bravo incident was not lost upon the Soviet delegate before that body. Speaking on July 15, 1954, Mr. Tsarapkin lambasted the U.S. by proclaiming that:

The Council was confronted with a case absolutely unparalleled in history. An Administration Authority, acting in its own selfish interests, had allowed the basic principles and purposes of the Trusteeship System to be violated. It had to be transferred and was continuing to transfer the indigenous inhabitants from their homes to other islands and, over the protest of the indigenous population, had turned the Trust Territory into a proving ground for atomic and hydrogen bombs. As a result of that policy, the sorry situation of the indigenous inhabitants had deteriorated still further. The nuclear tests had not only caused property losses, they had also injured the health of the population. Whole areas of sea, land and air had been poisoned and the Marshallese people were undergoing incredible suffering.⁷

For the past 33 years, the Marshall Islanders exposed to the fallout from Bravo have been monitored by U.S. government-sponsored health surveys. Under a contract with the Department of Energy (DOE), a medical team from Brookhaven National Laboratory travels by a special laboratory-equipped field ship to the affected atolls of Rongelap and Utirik. It has been widely acknowledged that, apart from the scientific studies conducted by the U.S. at Hiroshima and Nagasaki (under the auspices of the Radiation Effects Research Foundation), the data collected from the irradiated Marshallese has proved to be invaluable to the U.S. As early as 1958, in their third annual report after Bravo, the U.S. stated unequivocally that:

...greater knowledge of [radiation] effects on human beings is badly needed...Even though the radioactive contamination of Rongelap Island is considered perfectly safe for human habitation, the levels of activity are higher than those found in other inhabited locations of the world. The habitation of these people on the island will afford most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings.⁸

6. "Report of Project 1-M-54 on 28 Servicemen Exposed to Residual Radiation at Operation Castle," July 5, 1954, p. 11.

7. Mr. Semen Tsarapkin, Trusteeship Council Official Record (Verbatim Record), 14th session, 561st meeting, July 15, 1954, New York, p. 244.

8. Robert Conrad, *March 1957 Medical Survey of Rongelap and Utirik People 3 Years After Exposure to Radioactive Fallout* (Upton, NY: Brookhaven National Laboratory), BNL 501, June 1958, p. 22.

More recently, the U.S. scientists reaffirmed their extreme interest in the medical surveys among the Marshallese hit by the Bravo fallout:

Until 1954, the Japanese at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the only human populations exposed to significant radiation from nuclear detonations...The medical observations of the exposed Marshallese over the past 27 years have resulted in significant findings...The medical findings provide the only knowledge about the effects of radioactive fallout on human beings from detonation of nuclear devices.⁹



Credit: Dennis O'Rourke

Marshall Islanders, victims of Operation Bravo.

In 1978, under the pressure of a lawsuit brought about by the Bikini Islanders seeking to reinhabit their home atoll, the U.S. government undertook a radiological survey of the northern Marshall Islands near Bikini. In what turned out to be a major revelation, the survey concluded that the contamination of the Marshall Islands was far more extensive than had been previously revealed as a result of the sixty-six atomic and hydrogen bomb tests at Bikini and Enewetak between 1946 and 1958. According to the DOE report, all fourteen atolls and islands had been hit with at least "intermediate fallout."¹⁰ The DOE survey presented a dilemma: If fourteen atolls and islands—many of which are inhabited—were exposed to

dangerous fallout, why is the U.S. only monitoring the health of the people from just two of these atolls (Rongelap and Utirik)? Moreover, because the Bikini lawsuit only specified a survey of the northern Marshalls, we still do not have any data about the remaining twenty atolls and islands excluded from the DOE survey.

Still more evidence of a cover-up surfaced when a "smoking gun" document appeared in 1984. According to a recently released report on the Bravo test by the Defense Nuclear Agency (DNA), it is admitted that the "Winds at 20,000 feet were headed for [inhabited] Rongelap to the east" just six hours before the dawn blast in 1954.¹¹ This DNA report completely corroborates the testimony of the former Rongerik airmen that the U.S. knew in advance that winds were heading toward inhabited islands just prior to the Bravo detonation.

The DNA report includes another interesting revelation: One of the ships of the Joint Task Force—the USS Gypsy—had been positioned just offshore from Rongelap during the Bravo test. However, instead of quickly evacuating the islanders on Rongelap (as well as the 28 American airmen on Rongerik), the Gypsy was ordered out of the area, and it was not until several days later that these people were evacuated after they had received a nearly lethal dose of radiation.¹² To add to the mystery, it seems rather suspicious that in preparation for the "tiny" atomic tests of "Operation Crossroads" at Bikini in 1946, the people of Rongelap (and Wotho) were routinely evacuated to Lae Atoll as a safety precaution in case of fallout. It simply defies logic that this same precaution was not observed eight years later with a bomb more than 1,000 times the size of the previous bombs, and with winds heading in their direction just six hours before the explosion.

While aboard the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* during the historic May 1985 evacuation of the Rongelap islanders—just before French intelligence agents sabotaged the ship in New Zealand—Rongelap's Senator Jeton Anjain explained to me, "We are the forgotten 'guinea pigs.' The U.S. poisoned us, covered up their crime and now they use my people as animals for their studies."

Late last year, Congressman Edward Markey (D-MA) released a controversial report entitled, "American Nuclear Guinea Pigs: Three Decades of Radiation Experiments on U.S. Citizens." This report, dated October 24, 1986, chronicled 31 experiments conducted by the Manhattan Project and the Atomic Energy Commission whereby hundreds of U.S. citizens were exposed to radiation "that provided little or no medical benefit to the subjects: The purpose of several experiments was actually to cause injury to the subjects."¹³ Not coincidentally, the Markey report includes the Marshall Islanders who are followed up after the Bravo hydrogen bomb of 1954. ●

9. Robert Conard, *Review of Medical Findings in a Marshallese Population 26 Years After Accidental Exposure to Radioactive Fallout* (Upton, NY: Brookhaven National Laboratory), BNL 51261, January 1980, p. 85.

10. U.S. Department of Energy, *Radiological Survey Plan for the N. Marshall Islands*, August 22, 1978, p. II-3.

11. Defense Nuclear Agency, *Castle Series: 1954*, DNA 6035F, Washington, D.C., April 1, 1982, p. 202.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-7.

13. Rep. Edward Markey, "American Nuclear Guinea Pigs: Three Decades of Radiation Experiments on U.S. Citizens," Subcommittee on Energy Conservation and Power, Committee on Energy and Commerce, Washington, D.C., October 1986, p. 1.

The El Salvador of the Pacific:

Counterinsurgency in the Philippines

Adele Oltman and Dennis Bernstein*

While most of this country's attention is riveted on the undeclared war the U.S. is waging against Nicaragua, the Reagan administration has been quietly engaged in a counterinsurgency effort in the Philippines. When Congressman Stephen Solarz traveled to the South Pacific archipelago, he congratulated President Corazon Aquino on her government's successful transition from dictatorship to democracy. His remarks, however, were premature because the situation in the Philippines is becoming increasingly unstable and the U.S. government is playing an important role.

The Iran-*Contra* hearings revealed that a combination of governmental agencies, retired military personnel and right-wing private groups combined to carry out an unpopular and illegal foreign policy in Central America. A similar pattern is evident in the Philippines today.

"Semi-private" Arms to the Vigilantes

The recent proliferation of armed terrorist vigilante groups (see sidebar, page 22) appears to be linked to retired Gen. John K. Singlaub's relocation to the Philippines last November.¹ Singlaub, former chair of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), played a key role in channeling arms to the Nicaraguan *contras* while the Boland Amendment, which prohibited such aid, was in effect.

Accompanying Singlaub on a trip to the Philippines last November, was retired Lt. Gen. Robert L. Schweitzer, a one-time employee of the National Security Council and currently an adviser to GeoMiliTech. GeoMiliTech is a Washington-based military consulting firm that reportedly helped Singlaub send a \$5 million shipment of AK-47s and RPG launchers to the Nicaraguan *contras* in the summer of 1985.²

According to several sources in the Philippines, including the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, at least one meeting took place between Singlaub, Schweitzer, Chief of Staff General Fidel Ramos and General Luis Villa-Real, who was until recently the head of the National Intelligence Coordinating Authority (NICA), the Philippine agency modeled on the CIA.

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1. "Singlaub forming death squads?" *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, February 22, 1987, p.1.

2. *Secret Military Assistance To Iran And The Contras: A Chronology Of Events And Individuals*, The National Security Archive, Washington, D.C., July 1987, p. 32.

Reports indicate that Singlaub, who is a former CIA employee himself, also met with CIA Station Chief Earl Norbert Garrett and former CIA deputy director Ray Cline and then Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.³

Earlier this year, not long after Singlaub, Schweitzer and Cline's initial November 1986 visit, the vigilante groups sprang into action. Villa-Real, president of the Philippine chapter of WACL, was instrumental in the creation of the rightwing para-military groups.⁴

Jack Terrell, a former mercenary who fought with the Nicaraguan *contras* before blowing the whistle on their CIA-backed operations, currently resides in the Philippines. He recently began to notice vigilante groups such as *Alsa Masa* and *Tadtad* in possession of M-283s (an M-16 rifle with a grenade launcher attached to it).

This sophisticated weapon just "doesn't fit the pattern," said Terrell. "Most rebel groups use armaments such as AK47s, occasionally some ragtag M-16s, handguns and things of this nature," said Terrell. In the U.S. military, M-283s are normally used by "hard combat units," or "by security police for guarding perimeters of SAC [Strategic Air Command] bases, because it's a very heavy fire-power type weapon."

When asked how these weapons may have found their way into the hands of the rightwing vigilantes, Terrell said, "they had to come from someone who had a pretty good source of U.S. weaponry."⁵

In this context, the November meetings between Schweitzer, Singlaub, and Aquino's cabinet members are very significant. If Schweitzer helped Singlaub send a large shipment of armaments to the *contras*, he could have helped Singlaub supply the vigilantes with the sophisticated weaponry in the Philippines.

AAFLI At Work

As it does in many other countries, the CIA is using labor groups in the Philippines in their counterinsurgency efforts. The Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), one of four international arms of the AFL-CIO, has been active in the Philippines since the late 1960s. Together the four form the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI). The object of these

3. "What's General Singlaub doing in Pasong Tamo?" *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, December 19, 1987.

4. "Singlaub and Cline, Americans involved in the Coup?" *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, November 17, 1986.

5. Phone interview with Jack Terrell in Manila, conducted on August 5, 1987.

organizations is not to promote free trade union activity as its name implies, but to build pro-U.S. labor unions and undermine the work of progressive labor unions.

AAFLI receives substantial funding from the United States Information Agency (USIA), the Agency for International Development (AID) and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). NED, a quasi-private, government-funded, agency founded in 1983, is part of a larger plan called Project Democracy, which Ronald Reagan described as a global effort "to foster the infrastructure of democracy." Its original intent was to fund unions and newspapers in different parts of the world, using tax dollars and money from private sources.

Although NED receives congressional funding, its president, Carl Gershman, former aide to Jeane Kirkpatrick, was advised by Eugenia Kemble, Director of the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) to "avoid advertising" project budgets because "recipients would either be endangered or embarrassed" if "they were published or announced."⁶

AAFLI's work in the Philippines has been cause for concern even for members in the U.S. Embassy. Joseph Lee, a former U.S. labor attaché, made several attempts to find out about AAFLI projects in the Philippines. A source close to him said that Lee, frustrated by his inability to get information, characterized AAFLI programs as "clandestine."⁷

According to former CIA officials, including Philip Agee, the CIA uses the FTUI organizations for influencing trade unions. In the Philippines, the CIA channels money through AAFLI to the rightwing Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), a federation of pro-government unions created by Ferdinand Marcos in 1975.

In accordance with low-intensity conflict strategy,⁸ many of the projects that TUCP supports with AAFLI money are in areas where the New People's Army (NPA) is very active. These projects include health clinics and cooperative farms and are chosen, according to the TUCP's 1985 annual report, because they help to build the "democratic center."⁹

The TUCP fails, however, to support the rights of workers. According to an article in *Labor Notes*, "The most recent TUCP programs call for deregulation of the business and labor sector to 'promote the spirit of free initiative' and a labor-capital relationship."¹⁰

Not surprisingly, the TUCP has close connections to the Filipino far right. Last February the first national conference of Filipino vigilante groups took place at the Manila headquarters of the TUCP. Up until 1984, Ferdinand Marcos was the guest speaker at their annual May Day breakfast.¹¹

6. Memo from Eugenia Kemble, director of the Free Trade Union Institute to Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy, no date.

7. Phil Bronstein and David Johnston, "U.S. Funding Anti-left Fight in Philippines," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 21, 1985.

8. See Tom Barry, *Low Intensity Conflict: The New Battlefield in Central America*, The Resource Center, Albuquerque, 1986.

9. "What is the AFL-CIO Doing in the Philippines," *Labor Notes*, Labor Education and Research Project, Detroit, July 1986, p. 2.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

Land Reform or Counterinsurgency?

The United States is actively involved in President Aquino's land reform program. The State Department's "land reform" specialist, Roy Prosterman, a University of Washington law professor and key player in the CIA's rural pacification programs in South Vietnam and El Salvador, has recently been dispatched to the Philippines.¹²

Prosterman is no stranger to counterinsurgency land reform schemes in the Philippines. According to Hilarion



Credit: Associated Press.

Singlaub, another private network in the Philippines.

Henares of the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, Prosterman "was involved in Marcos's land reform program" in the 1970s, which was completely ineffectual. Prosterman's office is in the AAFLI headquarters in Manila. Henares says Prosterman has been forthright about his goals, "to diffuse peasant unrest" and that "he wants it [land reform] as an instrument of counterinsurgency."¹³

Rep. Stephen Solarz (Dem.-N.Y.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, earlier this year referred to land reform in the Philippines as an "effective component of the Aquino government's counterinsurgency program."¹⁴ Henares and others have claimed that because the land reform program is being designed by some of the largest landowners in the region, there is little reason to hope for an equitable solution to the land distribution problem.

CIA Presidential Finding

In March of this year, shortly after talks broke down between the NPA and the Aquino government, the Reagan administration issued a presidential "finding" which directed the CIA to conduct increased counterinsurgency operations against the NPA. The finding specified ten activities, including media operations, disinformation campaigns, computerized intelligence gathering, increased up-country advisers, overflights, the creation of new political groups, and an increase in the number of CIA personnel, from 115 to ap-

12. For more on Prosterman's history of land reform/counterinsurgency see *CAIB*, no. 12 (April 1981), pp. 7-9.

13. Phone interview with Hilarion Henares in Manila, conducted on August 6, 1987.

14. Ramsey Clark, et. al., *Report of a U.S.-Philippine Fact Finding Mission to the Philippines*, May 20-30, 1987, p. 45.

proximately 127, attached to the U.S. Embassy in Manila. Sources familiar with the two-year plan said the Reagan administration has approved \$10 million for increased CIA activities in the Philippines for this year, with a slight increase for next year.¹⁵

Last May, at the request of the Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Advocates, a U.S. fact finding delegation, led by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, visited the Philippines to investigate U.S. government involvement in the maintenance and formation of the vigilante groups. The delegation found evidence to suggest that U.S. agencies, both public and private, are playing a crucial role in counterinsurgency activities in the Philippines.



Credit: Alliance for Philippine Concerns

Filipino vigilantes operating much like the CIA's Phoenix Program.

As Filipinos flee from this persecution, refugee camps have sprung up in towns and cities. One member of the Clark delegation, Ralph McGehee, an ex-CIA officer who served as a special advisor to the South Vietnam National Police during the Vietnam War, found decided comparisons between the strategic hamlet program in Vietnam and the refugee camps in the Philippines today.

McGehee found other striking parallels between the Filipino vigilante groups and the CIA's Phoenix Program during the Vietnam War. "The vigilantes," he said, "are like the 'provincial reconnaissance units' which were actually assassination teams sent to 'purify' villages of alleged communists."¹⁶

According to McGehee, there are other signs in the Philippines that bear the mark of CIA-directed counterinsurgency operations. Media operations and disinformation campaigns "designed to raise the level of anti-communism to a hysterical pitch" are one of the "more glaring clues of CIA operations."¹⁷

Professor Gerald Horne, a member of the Clark delegation, observed that anyone who is "perceived to be against the

[U.S. military] bases is defined as 'communist,' and is "subjected to persecution, harassment, intimidation and sometimes even murder by the anti-communist vigilante groups." Others singled out by the vigilantes are prominent leaders from leftist trade unions and human rights activists.¹⁸

According to Hilarion Henares, the anti-communist rhetoric has intensified in the last few months. Stories of Russian ships, discoveries of communist documents and caches of Soviet arms, and stories of Soviet-inspired communist atrocities have recently been circulated in the more conservative press. McGehee attributes this phenomenon to CIA-backed disinformation campaigns.

It was in areas of the country where the NPA has found the most support, that the delegation observed the most intense level of harassment. In Davao, for example, all citizens are expected to support the local vigilante group, NAKASAKA. The Clark delegation spoke with one of the local military commanders, Lt. Col. Sumaoy, who said that any citizen who refuses to join NAKASAKA is expected to defend their decision. "They tell people to join them," McGehee said, and "for those who refuse...an X is marked on the home," which is then "burned or sometimes the people are killed."¹⁹

Rambo to the Rescue

It is clear that the Pentagon is actively seeking to transform the Philippine military into a successful counterinsurgency force. Under Marcos the military was riddled with morale problems so extreme that on several occasions government troops refused to fight the NPA. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage said, in a March report to the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, that the goal of Pentagon assistance is to restore "the NAAP's [New Armed Forces of the Philippines] professionalism and its combat effectiveness."²⁰

This year, Congress approved more than \$64 million in military aid to the Philippines and the Pentagon has requested an unprecedented \$112 million more for 1988. Most of the materials already delivered are ground equipment, including trucks, radios, field switchboards and telephones which enable the Filipino army to engage in irregular guerrilla warfare.

U.S. commitment to maintaining the status quo in the Philippines is operating on several fronts. Although Lt. Col. Oliver North and Vice Admiral John Poindexter are no longer coordinating the "private enterprise" from the Old Executive Office Building, Gen. Singlaub, who proved to be an important component of their efforts in Nicaragua, appears to be playing a supportive role in the Philippines. Millions of dollars from the sale of arms to Iran could well have been diverted into the hands of the far right in the Philippines. As in the past, Reagan-speak for "helping foster democracy" really means helping fight social change. ●

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. Statement before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, March 17, 1987, p. 11.

15. Phil Bronstein, *San Francisco Examiner*, March 22, 1987.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

Moonies, WACL and Vigilantes:

The Religious Right in the Philippines

by Howard Goldenthal*

The Filipino government, with U.S. support, is fighting a growing insurgency which is the result of hundreds of years of poverty and social injustice. To counter the growth of the New People's Army (NPA) and other progressive forces, they have adopted a low-intensity conflict strategy, similar to U.S. strategy in Central America.¹ Lending a hand in these efforts are many groups belonging to the religious right. These organizations vehemently preach against the "evils of communism" while trying to win converts through handouts of food, clothing, and other basic necessities.

The political work of the religious right is often subtle and therefore very effective. They are out to win the "hearts and minds" of the people; they are propagandists for the far right and because of their religious ties, gain respectability and power in deeply religious countries such as the Philippines.

CAUSA in the Philippines

One very important member of the Filipino government with extensive ties to the religious far right is Vice President Salvador Laurel. He has been involved with CAUSA, the political arm of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, for many years. In March 1987, Laurel, during the keynote address at an anti-communist conference in Manila organized by CAUSA, said, "The need for the struggle mounted by CAUSA is most urgent in the case of the Philippines...CAUSA should find the fertile field for its activities and programs."²

Laurel's ties to CAUSA run in the family; his wife, Celia Diaz-Laurel, is president of the Spiritual Action Movement Foundation (SAMF), a CAUSA front organization,³ which helped sponsor the March meeting.

Joining the Laurels at the CAUSA conference was Commander Jun Pala, a well-known organizer of vigilante squads and one of their most vocal advocates, who has compared him-

self to Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels. Pala, who is a radio announcer for station DXOM in Davao City, claims to run a vigilante group of 400 fighters which includes the Alsa Masa (Rising Masses) and NAKASAKA (People United for Peace), two of the officially sanctioned vigilante groups.⁴ Also included in Pala's army is the Tadtad, a fanatical death squad whose members often torture and mutilate their victims.⁵

While Pala and his vigilante squads clearly demonstrate the brutality of the CAUSA philosophy, the quasi-intellectual side of the organization conducts meetings and seminars in the Philippines to promote their ideology. They are helped on this front by several think-tanks such as the International Security Council (ISC).

In August 1986, the ISC held a round-table discussion on the Philippines and security of the South China Sea region. Reportedly at the conference were Gen. John Singlaub, former CIA deputy director Ray Cline, former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, and Gen. Fidel Ramos. The chairperson of the conference was A. James Gregor, a close associate of Ferdinand Marcos.

Out of this conference came the Manila Declaration, a document which called for the United States, Japan and South Korea to work together to "increase joint command, control, training and intelligence sharing capabilities" with the Philippines.⁶ One of the main tasks of this joint command would be to maintain the American military facilities at Subic Bay Naval Station and Clark Air Force Base.

Moonies and the Global Strategy Council

The Unification Church is also closely associated with the Global Strategy Council (GSC). Members include Arnaud de Borchgrave, editor of the Moonie-owned *Washington Times* and retired Gen. E. David Woellner, president of CAUSA World Services. The chairperson of the Global Strategy Council is Ray Cline.

In October 1986, Cline again traveled to the Philippines to attend a GSC seminar entitled "The Foundations for Lasting Peace." Among those who attended the Moonie seminar were

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1. See Sara Miles, introduction, *Death Squads in the Philippines*, edited by Enrique Delacruz, Aida Jordan and Jorge Emmanuel. This pamphlet is an excellent study of the death squads in the Philippines and is available from the Alliance for Philippine Concerns, P.O. Box 170219, San Francisco, CA 94117 for \$5.00.

2. *Report of a U.S. Philippine Fact Finding Mission to the Philippines*, May 20-30, 1987. Ramsey Clark, Gerald Horne, Ralph McGehee, Catherine Pinkerton, Dr. Lester E. Ruiz, and Leonard Weinglass, p. 4.

3. *Le Monde*, March 28, 1987.

4. *Right-Wing Vigilantes in Labour Repression in the Philippines*, Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) Labour Federation, International Department, Manila, March 1987, p. 1.

5. *Op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 31.

6. *The Philippines and Security of the South China Sea Region*, International Security Council, New York, 1986, p. 4.

Death Squads in the Philippines

by Doug Cunningham*

Since the arrival of vigilante squads in Manila last year, the movement has spread throughout the Philippines. From the remnants of a gang formed by a corrupt local politician and a few fanatical religious sects that were part of the Marcos counterinsurgency program, the vigilantes have become a well-coordinated national movement of more than 70 groups comprising tens of thousands of members.

Vigilantes are purportedly civilians who fight against the "communists." In practice, "communists" can be anything from the New People's Army (NPA) to labor unions, Basic Christian Communities, or Bishop Antonio Fortich, a liberal Catholic bishop who was the target of a vigilante grenade attack last April. Some of these groups are "un-armed," meaning they have no weapons at all or they use bolo knives or other homemade weapons. Most of the groups are heavily armed with M-16's and other automatic weapons supplied by the Philippine military.

It is significant to note that there are many similarities between the various vigilante groups. One is the way the groups are formed. A military officer (Major Bermudez for the towns in South Cotabato province) conducted an all-day seminar in which he argued that the main problem in the Philippines was "communism," a problem which the military alone could not combat. The attendance of all city and neighborhood officials was required, and at the end of the seminar, the officials were requested to set up "Rondas" or all-night patrols, requiring barrio residents to participate one night a week.

**Doug Cunningham works for the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines and recently returned from the Philippines.*

In barrios where the NPA has established a stronghold, the purpose of the vigilante group is to expel or kill anyone who is a member, a suspected member, or a suspected supporter of the NPA. In barrios where the NPA is not present, the vigilantes target labor unions, farmers' organizations or Basic Christian Communities. Other targets include those who refuse to join the vigilante groups. A wealthy fisherman who refused their offer found the words "You are just one bullet" (away from death) painted on his front gate. Less socially prominent resisters have been dealt with more harshly.

There is ample evidence to show that the Philippine military is a primary organizer, supplier and trainer of the vigilante groups. Col. Franco Calida, the Commander of the Davao City metropolitan district police, has admitted that the military supports Alsa Masa (Rising Masses), the largest armed vigilante group. Another notorious vigilante squad organizer is Lt. Col. Jun Alcover who has ties to many far right groups in the Philippines.

Evidence also points to other supporters. The first national conference of vigilante groups held last February to form the National Coalition Against Communism, was hosted in the Manila office of the AFL-CIO affiliated Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP). The second national gathering, held in March, was hosted by CAUSA International. The CAUSA gathering brought a wide spectrum of leaders from business, academia, the media, and the military together to hear Jun Pala, a Davao City radio commentator who has become well-known as the "Voice of the Alsa Masa," declare that "Communists are believers of Satan, and between God and devil, we must not

Gen. John Singlaub, Juan Ponce Enrile and Col. Rodolfo Biazon, superintendent of the Philippine Military Academy.⁷

At a GSC conference in October of last year, former undersecretary of defense retired Gen. Richard Stilwell came out in favor of more and better assistance to the Philippine military. He also called for the upgrading of the joint U.S. military advisory group, and widening its mandate to include retraining of Filipino troops.⁸ Stilwell was in the Philippines for 10 days last August where he allegedly met with members of CAUSA International.⁹

Stilwell is also involved with the Ameriquest program which has close connections to the Knights of Malta¹⁰ and has received money from the Moon front organization the

"Nicaraguan Freedom Fund."¹¹ Ameriquest recently sent \$20 million in medical supplies to the Philippines and these supplies were shipped courtesy of the Pentagon.¹² In Latin America, Ameriquest contributions are often distributed by the military and in Guatemala, they are used extensively in the military's pacification campaign.¹³

Christian Anti-Communist Crusade

Another prominent far right religious organization active in the Philippines is the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade (CACC) presided over from Long Beach, California by Dr. Fred Schwarz. The Vice President of CACC is Australian John Whitehall who is very active in the Philippines.

Whitehall has written several papers dealing with the leftist insurgency in the Philippines. "Communism in the Philippines: The Fundamental Issue" has been widely distributed

7. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, November 18, 1986.

8. Rene Ciria-Cruz, "What is the U.S. Policy on Aquino?" *Katipunan*, November 1987, p. 5.

9. "Destabilization Plot," *International Solidarity News Digest*, Association of Major Religious Superiors, Manila, October 14, 1987, p. 2.

10. The Knights of Malta have an active Filipino organization whose members include, President: Jesus S. Cabarrus, Vice President: Ramon A. Pedrosa, Treasurer: Jaime A. Calpo, Historian: Pedro Picornell.

11. Francoise Hervet, "The Sovereign Military Order of Malta," *CAIB*, no. 25 (Winter 1986), pp. 35-36.

12. *Manila Chronicle*, February 6, 1987.

13. *Ibid.*

compromise." At the end of the conference, new CAUSA chapters were formed for nine regions of the Philippines and organizers were given free manuals, slides and tapes.

There is also speculation that the CIA is involved in organizing the vigilantes. In March 1987, *Newsweek* and the *San Francisco Examiner* reported that President Reagan had approved \$10 million and a dozen new agents for stepped-up CIA covert operations in the Philippines. The *Examiner* reported that the new authorization "opens the door for the use of CIA field advisers and is general enough to allow for the implementation of political 'dirty tricks.'" The increased funding came at the time when the vigilantes were rapidly developing into a national movement and needed funding and support. As one U.S. official remarked about CIA complicity in the murders by Salvadoran death squads, "The CIA didn't care what was going on so long as they were killing communists."

A Canadian documentary film which will air this spring provides an interesting piece of supporting evidence. The film crew walked into the recording studio of Jun Pala, with their cameras rolling, and discovered an American meeting with the vigilante leader. The American identified himself as a development worker but later Jun Pala, with the audio still on, said the American was really a CIA agent.

Many vigilante groups have been organized in support of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines. A U.S. fact-finding mission headed by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark found evidence that ex-CIA operative and former World Anti-Communist League (WACL) chairman John Singlaub helped organize vigilante groups in both Angeles City, the home of Clark Air Force Base, and Olongapo, the site of the Subic Bay Naval Station. It is also interesting to note that support of the U.S. bases has come from vigilante groups in the southern Philippines, a region that has in the

past displayed little concern for the bases. Yet members of the Alsa Masa in Mindanao have carried placards that say "We Need U.S. Bases." Members of the Koronadal Movement of Unity and Tranquility (KOMUT), in a remote area of South Cotabato province, created a banner in which there is a symbol deifying the U.S. and the military bases.

President Aquino, at first being careful to endorse only the "unarmed" groups, finally gave her endorsement even to the Alsa Masa, when she attended a carefully arranged meeting of Alsa Masa supporters in Davao City in October 1987. She was heavily criticized for this endorsement by the National Movement to Disband Vigilantes and the Philippine Alliance for Human Rights Advocates, and was forced to retract slightly, but she is clearly under heavy pressure to go along with vigilantism. In Washington, State Department representatives have downplayed vigilante human rights violations. Secretary of State George Shultz remarked in a *New York Times* article, "they [the vigilante squads] are being organized within the framework of Government authority...and President Aquino has supported that approach and we support what she is standing for."

As the vigilante groups become more and more accepted by official Manila and Washington policy, one begins to see the role they play in the overall counterinsurgency strategy. As Philippine Defense Minister Rafael Ileto said in an interview in June, "Alsa Masa is not part of the military—so we're not accountable for them." But as the tie between government and vigilante grows closer, not many will be fooled by Ileto's logic.

The vigilante movement, along with U.S. intervention, has escalated counterinsurgency to a new level, once again pushing the Philippines to the brink of civil war. ●

with the help of the far right former defense minister, Juan Ponce Enrile.¹⁴

Over the past few years, Whitehall has traveled to the Philippines at least 14 times. His main contact in the archipelago is Jun Alcover, a lieutenant colonel in the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Alcover visited the United States last March under the auspices of Whitehall and the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). While in Washington, Alcover and Whitehall gave a seminar at the Heritage Foundation titled "The Communist Party of the Philippines: How Much of a Threat to Philippines Democracy?"¹⁵

Funders of CACC include well-known far right supporters such as Patrick J. Frawley, owner of the Schick and Paper-Mate corporations. The J. Howard Pew family trusts have provided Whitehall with tens of thousands of dollars and the Prentice-Hall Company printed, free of charge, over 200,000

copies of Schwarz's book, "You Can Trust the Communists—to be Communists."¹⁶

The Propaganda War

A wide range of U.S.-based Christian fundamentalist groups are operating in the Philippines. The list includes such luminaries as Jerry Falwell, Jimmy Swaggart (who spreads his gospel with regular television broadcasts) and, of course, presidential candidate Pat Robertson and his Christian Broadcasting Network. Others lesser known, but equally anti-communist, are Christian Aid, Gospel for Asia, Campus Crusade for Christ, Maranatha Ministries and the CAUSA affiliate, The Asian Ecumenical Inter-Faith Council.¹⁷ Recently, the Moonie group sponsored a visit by rightwing Nicaraguan priest Bismarck Carballo.¹⁸

16. *Op. cit.*, n. 14.

17. For more information on these groups and other far right religious organizations, see *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, No. 27, Spring 1987.

18. *Op. cit.*, n. 14.

14. From a memo on Whitehall's activities in the Philippines, National Council of Churches in the Philippines, July 1987.

15. "This Month at Heritage," The Heritage Foundation, March 1987.



Credit: Alliance for Philippine Concerns

Jun Pala (center) and associates, voice of the death squads.

Christian Aid is a Charlottesville, Virginia-based missionary organization which asks its supporters to "pray each day...[for] those missionaries encountering communist troops as they minister in rebel-infested areas." They also ask them to sign petitions so that "soon there will be a whole army of prayer warriors interceding for your brethren in the Philippines."¹⁹

Money donated to Christian Aid goes to support over 30 fundamentalist missions throughout the Philippines whose literature and propaganda contain strong denunciations of the New People's Army and warn Filipinos against the "communists who are more determined than ever to destabilize our government and take over the country." They also frequently report on NPA members who, through the prayers of their missionaries, renounce their NPA ties and are "saved."²⁰

In December 1986, Campus Crusade for Christ, headed by Bill Bright, organized "Explo '86" which was held at the University of Life in Manila. The event sought to bring 10,000 Christian workers to the "University" and reach a further 600,000 through satellite transmission. The "Explo" featured guest speakers such as Billy Graham and Bill Bright who captivated the audience with ideas like the founding of the U.S. being the "single most important" event since the birth of Christ.²¹ Campus Crusade has also worked closely with John Whitehall's Christian Anti-Communist Crusade in Mexico.²²

19. From a Christian Aid petition entitled "Believers are being brutally murdered in the Philippines! They need your prayers!" Christian Aid, Route Ten, Box One, Charlottesville, VA 22901.

20. "Rebels Had Targeted Official," *Christian Mission*, September/October 1986, p. 11. *Christian Mission* is a bi-monthly magazine published by Christian Aid.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

22. Monthly newsletter of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, April 1, 1987, p. 3.

The religious right plays an important international role in fighting political progress in developing nations. It is not surprising therefore that there has been an influx of these organizations into the Philippines. Intense and effective anti-communist propaganda are trademarks in their religious campaigns. Vigilante death squads, civic action programs, "land reform," and U.S. military advisers are clear indications that the U.S. has chosen the Philippines as its next low intensity conflict testing ground and the religious right is there to lead the propaganda front.

The Death Squads of Mindanao

The following is a partial list of vigilante squads that operate on Mindanao island:

- Alsa Masa
- Christian Mindanao Liberation Organization-Mindanao Liberation Army (CMLO-MLA)
- Community Movement Against Communists
- Crusader World Army
- Guerrero de Jesus
- Iglesia ni Kristo Koronadal Movement for Unity and Tranquility (KOMUT)
- People United for Peace (NAKASAKA)
- Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association (PBMA)
- Remnants of God
- Rock Christ Army
- Tadtad
- Universal Family Central of Yahweh

Interview with Owen Wilkes:*

The Maori Loan Scandal: CIA Set-Up

CovertAction Information Bulletin: You have done quite a bit of research about American attempts to destabilize governments, and in particular your own government in New Zealand. Could you talk about the history of that?

Owen Wilkes: There was a big scandal in Parliament when a member of the Conservative Opposition Party revealed that the New Zealand Maori Affairs Department — the outfit that looks after the affairs of the indigenous people — had been illegally and without authorization negotiating a gigantic loan with some American businessmen.

There was a great scandal about this and the civil servants who were doing this and there was an attempt to implicate the Cabinet Minister for Maori Affairs, Koro Wetere. But a television team from New Zealand went over to Honolulu to look at the people who had been involved in this and they found out that several of the businessmen had previously been working for the CIA — for a CIA front company called Bishop, Baldwin, Rewald, Dillingham & Wong (BBRDW), which was rather spectacularly exposed in Hawaii when one of the principals of that company, Ronald Rewald, tried to commit suicide and it turned out that he'd swindled the CIA and a few investors out of something like \$20 million in three years.

Ronald Rewald and BBRDW president Sonny Wong had set up the firm in 1978, acting on the instructions of Honolulu CIA base chief, Eugene Welsch. At that time Rewald was still relatively new to this cloak and dagger stuff, but he'd been a student spy for the CIA back in the 1960s at the University of Wisconsin.

The other partners in the firm, Bishop, Baldwin and Dillingham, never existed; they were just "Kamaaina" names — respectable old Hawaiian family names added to the company to give it spurious credibility. The CIA wrote a phony history for BBRDW, going back to the 1950s, which was printed in a glossy brochure.

In June 1986 while a somewhat disastrous Maori Trade Expo was happening in Honolulu, Department of Maori Affairs (DMA) officials were looking for business opportunities for the Maori people. They were approached by a Rotorua businessman, Rocky Cribb, who just "happened" to be on

holiday there. Cribb offered his assistance to DMA officials, free of charge.

Well, as it turned out, the most promising business opportunity was the supply of modular housing to Hawaiian residential developments. This just happened to be the main product of United Finance and Securities Ltd. (UFS), a company owned by Cribb's wife.

In September 1986 DMA accepted Cribb's offer of unpaid services to further investigate this business opportunity and Cribb went to Hawaii in late September to meet with Charles Heen, a business consultant. Through Heen, Cribb subsequently negotiated a loan for the DMA of up to \$300 million from a "private source," which turned out to be a man by the name of Michael Gisondi. The terms of the loan were for 25 years with interest at a trifling 4 percent. The finder's fee, however, was a whopping 6 percent — just to arrange the loan.

There was a consortium of middlemen involved in the loan offer from Hawaii, led by "former" CIA agent Robert Colman Allen. Only weeks after a joint business venture was set up between DMA and UFS Ltd., UFS collapsed, with debts to one company alone of at least \$5 million. The New Zealand Justice Department's corporate fraud section began an investigation and the DMA ordered that loan negotiations be stopped. This was in late November, but one of the curious things about the whole affair was that the New Zealand conservative National Party MP, Winston Peters, knew more about the loan than the New Zealand government did, including the Cabinet Minister for Maori Affairs.

Peters revealed the secret and unauthorized negotiations to Parliament on December 16, after the deal had been terminated by DMA. Even though the loan was never consummated, Peters exploited the situation in a "tacking duel" with the government.

He started out saying it was all a scam, but when the government agreed he changed tack and said the money was really there. The Prime Minister called one of the middlemen in the operation, Max Raeppe, a phony, and Peters claimed his credentials were good.

CAIB: What about CIA involvement in the loan scandal?

OW: In fact, when TV New Zealand sent a news team to Honolulu they discovered why there was so much enthusiasm for lending DMA money. Both those who were facilitating the loan and those hoping to benefit from it were all in the same consortium. Heen, Gisondi, James Hanna and Warren Spaf-

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ford [the members of the loan consortium] were involved in United Resort Technology International (URTEC), which was promoting resort developments worldwide, including a venture proposed to DMA by UFS (before it folded) for a \$2 billion resort in Hawaii and a Chinese hotel chain.

CAIB: Who was James Hanna?

OW: He set up URTEC. He's Australian, but on occasion he's represented himself as a New Zealand government official. And this is where the CIA connections begin to surface. Allen, the "former" CIA agent, and a third man, Angel Cancel, were all linked to the CIA front corporation Bishop, Baldwin, Rewald, Dillingham & Wong, which I described earlier. We first heard about Hanna, Allen and Cancel when Rewald was in court several years earlier. According to evidence presented by Rewald's lawyers at his trial, these three were used by the CIA to recover records of foreign bank accounts which had been used to launder CIA dirty money. Allen and Hanna, according to the lawyers, were on the CIA payroll and attempts to subpoena Allen as a witness were blocked by the CIA on "national security" grounds.

There's no evidence that they're still working for the CIA, but it actually seems quite likely that they were used by the U.S. government to create this scandal. Interestingly it's something that had been successfully exploited before [by the CIA in Australia]...One incident that was particularly effective was a series of similar loan scandals, supposedly involving Middle East money. There's a Pakistani by the name of Kim Lani who brokered those loans and who was shown to be working for the CIA on other occasions. That brought down three cabinet ministers and very definitely contributed to the downfall of the [Whitlam Labour] government. It seems a bit strange that they should repeat the same scenario in New Zealand.

It had the added sophistication here that the action was played out against the Department of Maori Affairs and so they were able to create an awful lot of racial tension and disension here. It created a big gulf between the Maori people and the Labour Government who had traditionally been closely associated. It set Maori against Maori and that sort of thing.

CAIB: Now about the Fiji coup. What are your impressions of what really happened in Fiji?

OW: This is only an impression. I've concentrated very much on looking for the American involvement in Fiji. Looking at it overall, I think all the theories have some merit. There was some race tension to be exploited, but I don't think the race tension did it on its own. There was also a matter of a somewhat obsolescent chiefly system in Fiji. And there are tensions between different chiefly lines.

I think a much bigger factor was corruption in Fiji, in the business community in particular, what with some of the old politicians deeply involved in that. And then I think there's outside involvement. I think that the business corruption and

the risk of it being exposed by the new government provided most of the motive force for getting the coup going. But I'm also adamant that the United States was watching it and saw what was happening and they took actions to make sure they succeeded. The United States was not the catalyst for the coup but it definitely supplied the lubricant for it.

And there's also the build-up of American involvement in Fiji over the last five years. Through various organizations the United States has been penetrating and exerting control and influence over the trade union movement in Fiji and over the military forces and the officer corps, over Fijian politicians and over the economy. Now none of these things in itself precipitated the coup. I think they all helped to make the coup run smoothly and effectively. So for example there are organizations such as the Asian American Free Labor Institute, which the AFL-CIO sponsors, and U.S. Agency for International Development, and so on.

They had brought a number of rightwing Australian trade unionists to Fiji over the years and given them a certain amount of exposure to things that were happening there. So when the coup took place all these Australian trade unionists were in place to put out propaganda to say how important the coup was and how bad the Fiji Labour Party was and how important it was that it be chucked out.

They were putting out a theory that the Fiji Labour Party had been formed at a conference in Prague back in 1978 and that certain leftwing Australian trade unionists were responsible for setting it up and it was all a big communist plot and that sort of thing.

CAIB: What does it look like for the future of Fiji? What's your prognosis?

OW: I think the Fijian economy is just going to collapse further. Tourists will be scared away, the sugar won't get harvested. Everything is collapsing there and Fiji is just going to sink further and further until there will be a massive humanitarian aid effort by the United States and France to get Fiji back on its feet. And of course it will be a total takeover of Fiji in the process, as with Grenada.

I think we in the South Pacific are going to have to look closer at what's been happening in Central America and South America for years and years, to get a foretaste of just how bad things could be in Fiji and the rest of the Pacific.

You might summarize everything the United States has been doing as saying they're "Caribbeanizing" the South Pacific. The South Pacific will only just realize how lucky we've been that the transition from colonialism to independence has been relatively smooth. These Pacific micro-states have been functioning quite well, in what has been called the "Pacific-way," which is a rather vague system of doing things by consensus within and between countries, and that's now given way to an era in which there's going to be assassinations as in Belau, military coups as in Fiji, totalitarian governments, dictatorships and blatant foreign interventions and that sort of thing. So the situation could be quite grim and we may have a bigger struggle than we've ever thought we would have. ●

French Intervention in New Caledonia:

Assassins in Kanaky

by David Robie*

"There are many *fachos* [fascists] who dream of getting me," remarked Éloi Machoro, the man portrayed as the Che Guevara of the South Pacific, just a week before he was shot. "But if they succeed, there will be ten, a hundred new Machoros...until the dawn comes when Kanaky is independent."

Machoro, an engaging former teacher and a territorial councillor who became Security Minister in the provisional government of Kanaky (New Caledonia) which was proclaimed at the end of 1984, had no illusions about his life. From the day of the election boycott until his assassination he knew he was a marked man.

For the Kanak people Machoro has become a martyr, a symbol of resistance against French oppression in the Pacific territories of New Caledonia and French Polynesia. In the Kanak-run regional government offices his photographs now replace the portraits of French President Francois Mitterand. Kanak leaders claim Machoro's killing amounted to a summary execution in cold blood. Almost three years later the incident remains as murky as the sabotage of the *Rainbow Warrior* by the French secret service.¹ Indeed, both events have focused attention on the activities of French intelligence agents and secret right-wing movements in Noumea, the capital of New Caledonia. Mounting evidence indicates Machoro was in fact murdered in a conspiracy to eliminate the greatest threat to France's grip on New Caledonia and its vital Polynesian nuclear testing site, Moruroa atoll.

After Machoro and an aide, Marcel Nonnarok, were shot by French police marksmen during a siege of a farmhouse near the western town of La Foa on January 12, 1985, a furor erupted in the French colony. With Kanak militants and French loyalists on the brink of civil war, the then High Commissioner Edgard Pisani declared a state of emergency in New Caledonia, the first in any French overseas territory since the Algerian war of independence in 1954-62.

Amnesty International, which made its first foray into the South Pacific in 1985, is investigating the case along with a long list of other alleged injustices in New Caledonia. In its 1986 year book — the first one to mention a South Pacific territory — the world human rights group said it was concerned about allegations that the two dead men were the victims of

extrajudicial execution by French security forces. On February 8 1985, Amnesty asked the French Justice Minister about the reports, and two weeks later "received assurances from the ministry that the killings would be investigated. Amnesty [is] not aware of the results of any official investigation... and a civil suit, brought against persons unknown, [has] reached no conclusion."² Other members of Machoro's family were later jailed and defense lawyers claimed they had become "judicial hostages" of the French.

Liberated Zone

Because he struggled against French colonialism Éloi Machoro gained notoriety in the conservative French press. After an "active boycott" of the November 1984 territorial election by the Kanaks, Machoro led about 200 militants in a resistance operation to "liberate" the east coast mining town of Thio. The militants captured the town and its gendarme post in a bloodless raid and set up a ring of barricades as defenses. Thio remained "liberated" for almost two months, infuriating French settlers. "Iron man," "axe man" and "extremist," the newspapers called him. It was Machoro whose photograph wielding an axe to split open a ballot box made front pages around the world; it was Machoro who, with Foreign Minister Yann-Celene Uregei, made a highly publicized visit to Libya, apparently to seek support for the independence cause. And it was Machoro who succeeded Pierre Declercq as secretary-general of the moderate pro-independence Caledonian Union, the strongest faction in the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), when Declercq was assassinated in 1981 (by secret agents).³

During an interview shortly before his death, Machoro bitterly attacked other South Pacific nations such as Fiji over their New Caledonian policies. "Hypocrisy from Canberra and Wellington had helped plunge our country into chaos," he said. "We're a peaceful people, but we have been frustrated in our right to independence for too long. Promises...promises...promises, and in the end nothing! For five years we pleaded with the South Pacific Forum for our case to be taken up in the United Nations. For five years we got nowhere.

"Instead, when we took action ourselves, all we got was a hypocritical roasting over the Libyan and Moscow 'links',

*David Robie is a New Zealand author and writer on South Pacific affairs. This article is adapted from a chapter in his forthcoming book, *Blood on their Banner*, about nationalist struggles in the Pacific.

1. See David Robie, *Eyes of Fire: The Last Voyage of the Rainbow Warrior*, (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1987).

2. Amnesty International Report 1986, London, p. 282, and Amnesty International Report 1987, p. 291.

3. See David Robie, *Blood on their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific*, (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, publication due in 1988).

which are a load of rubbish. There was no serious attempt to understand our quest for sovereignty. If Canberra and Wellington had followed Vanuatu's lead, the Libyan issue would not have arisen. But when you're desperate you have to seek help where you can."⁴

"Neutralize" Equals Assassinate

Documents and witnesses have surfaced which reveal some of the circumstances of Machoro's death. At the time, the *indépendantistes* claimed it was an assassination, while General Deiber, commander of the paramilitary gendarmerie in New Caledonia, confirmed the gendarmes had been ordered to "neutralize" Machoro, the same order issued for the sabotage of the *Rainbow Warrior*.

According to the official version, marksmen of the elite GIGN (National Gendarmerie intervention group) fired from a range of 130 meters at Machoro's shoulders, instead of his legs which were obscured by an embankment, and thus "ac-



Credit: David Robie.

Eloi Machoro, slain leader of the Kanaky resistance.

cidentally" killed him and Nonnaro. He died 20 minutes after being hit in the chest; Nonnaro was killed outright. The two men were accused of leaving the farmhouse near La Foa where they were with 37 other Kanak militants—and shooting at the 300 gendarmes surrounding the building. The FLNKS stated neither man fired any shots and added they left the farmhouse to negotiate with the gendarmes. No evidence was found that cartridges had been fired by the Kanaks.

At the time Machoro died, French settlers in Nouméa were rioting in protest at apparent inaction by French authorities following the shooting of a 17-year-old farmer's son. The

youth, Yves Tual, was killed the day before on the same farm where Machoro was shot. The rioters stopped pelting police with stones when they heard news of Machoro's death; they cheered and hooted instead. Officials reported 26 people injured, including several policemen in the rioting. Police used armored cars and fired tear gas and stun grenades. One armored car, its turret in flames, hurtled out of control into the crowd, seriously injuring a protester. Months later, when much of Nouméa's characteristic political graffiti had been cleaned off walls, at least one slogan remained a crude example of settler racism: *Machoro ordure tu es mort* (Shit Machoro, you are dead).

However, in sharp contrast thousands of Kanaks mourned their dead leader and he became a celebrity for indigenous rights groups across the South Pacific.

In a reconstruction of events in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, former Nouméa-based journalist Helen Fraser reported Machoro and the Kanak militants did not perceive a crisis in spite of the GIGN marksmen being flown to the farmhouse by helicopter late in the evening of December 11. The unit had been protecting the French High Commission while rioting raged in Nouméa. Machoro sent a messenger to a nearby FLNKS member's house to telephone commissioner Pisani, urgently seeking a truce. Explained Fraser:

Machoro appears to have [had] good reason to believe that a truce was possible, since on two previous occasions, at the request of the High Commissioner, he had agreed to free captured gendarmes, leaving all guns at the scene. The message was phoned from La Foa to the home of an FLNKS official in Nouméa. He, in turn, gave it to a French public servant to transmit to Pisani since, at the time, it would have been impossible for a Kanak messenger to have got through the rioting in Nouméa and reach the High Commissioner's offices. The French public servant has made a statement saying he gave Pisani the message which said: "Give us a truce or the FLNKS will move into the third phase [armed insurrection]."⁵

Although a spokesperson for Pisani said at the time that no such message was received, the High Commissioner revealed almost a year later that he received only the second half of the message. "Certainly," wrote Fraser, "Pisani had a lot to cope with; heavy rioting, building burning opposite his residence, exhausted and wounded riot police, and no let-up in sight at the moment he received the message. A colleague present in the operations room set up in the High Commission during the emergency described Pisani as 'a man stunned by events, who eventually went to bed'." Back at La Foa, Machoro and his militants were awaiting word from Pisani.

5:30 am, January 12: Warnings were given by the gendarmes and then tear gas and stun grenades were fired at the FLNKS group.

6:10 am: Shots were fired by the GIGN. Machoro was shot

4. The Forum finally backed the FLNKS last year and on December 2, the United Nations General Assembly voted 89 to 24 to reinscribe New Caledonia on the decolonization committee's list of colonies.

5. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, March 1986.

in the sternum; Nonnaro in the chest, dying instantly. Machoro had been shot as he stood near the fence on the farm. He staggered across the grass.

"Dehors!... Get away, escape," he warned as he collapsed in front of the farmhouse. Shocked by the betrayal of an apparent truce, most of the other militants surrendered to the gendarmes.

According to first reports of the killings by French authorities, several FLNKS militants were wounded. A second version claimed Machoro died "shooting his way out of the house." The final and "official" version said the FLNKS had fired shots after the 6:10 am warning and that the two men were killed in an attempt to "neutralize" them. Later, French officials dropped their insistence that shots were fired by the FLNKS but claimed Machoro had his gun in a firing position when shot. This conflicts with reports that he actually had his rifle slung from the shoulder. The other militants who were arrested after surrendering told their lawyers they heard shots as they were being driven away. They alleged that the gendarmes fired their guns to "prove" a shoot-out had actually happened.

French Stand Accused

On December 2, 1986 a former gendarme present at the siege accused the French government of having secretly planned Machoro's killing. Facing a hold-up charge at the Aisne lawcourt in north-east France, Lahouari Bouhout, 32, gave evidence saying: "The gendarmerie were supposed to kill three men but they got only two." Asked by the prosecutor to repeat his words, Bouhout declared: "The gendarmerie were supposed to kill three men. We were ordered to keep it secret and to say the killings were an accident." The courtroom was in an uproar and Judge Valentin called an adjournment, later saying the Machoro affair could not be spoken about again during the case before the court.⁶

Bouhout had earlier been asked to explain the circumstances of his leaving the gendarmerie. He said he had been forced to resign because he had taken graphic photographs of Machoro's body and then sold them to *Paris-Match* magazine. A gendarme captain gave corroborating testimony. On his return to Aisne, Bouhout was unable to find work. He was charged with carrying out a hold-up with an accomplice, Karim Benhamed, at Flavy-le-Martel on May 29, 1985.

According to Kanak investigators, three men were supposed to be killed in an attempt to crush the Kanaky rebellion. The targets were Machoro, Nonnaro, and Francois Burck. Burck who later became *chef de cabinet* of the Central Region government, was not at the farmhouse at the time of the siege; his substitute target, André Assao, was shielded from the sniper's sights and escaped only to be jailed for three months.

Commissioner Pisani, a veteran troubleshooter for France in the Third World, was fascinated by Machoro's image. Nearly three months after the shootings he visited the town of Thio, Machoro's stronghold. He was again accused of responsibility

for the killing by Kanak militants and members of the Machoro family.

"I salute Éloi Machoro—he died in combat and for that he deserves respect," Pisani replied. "We didn't intend to kill him. I bow before his mortal remains."

Lawyers for Machoro's family allege that transcripts of paramilitary radio communications on the night of the shootings show no trace of an order being given to shoot to "neutralize" by senior officers, including Pisani. One early Kanak statement claimed the killings were decided on by the GIGN and other gendarmes under pressure from anti-independence settlers.

However, later accounts indicate a conspiracy within the French government and intelligence services, planned at the same time as the operation was being prepared against the



Edgard Pisani, French Special Commissioner sent to New Caledonia to investigate the rebellion.

Rainbow Warrior. It was "open season" against the enemies of France in the South Pacific and Nouméa had been the base for many former *barbouzes* ("bearded ones"—secret agents) with powerful connections since the end of the Algerian war.

Several factors point to murder, rather than an accidental shooting. No trace was found of an official order to shoot. French ballistics expert Professor Caccaldi indicated the weapons used by the marksmen were an FRF1 sniping rifle, "inappropriate for a neutralization shot" with an "inadequate" telescopic sight of 3.85 magnification. The ammunition used (7.5mm) was designed to kill, not neutralize and the shots were not fired from a fixed tripod—as usual—but by marksmen resting their rifles on the shoulders of colleagues.

Meanwhile, a network of secret right-wing vigilante groups has been set up in New Caledonia modelled on the French underground army OAS in Algeria. These groups have been responsible for bomb attacks on the Nouméa law courts, government and FLNKS offices, and pro-independence supporters in the past two years. "We are not dealing with small unorganized groups of the extreme right," said pro-inde-

6. *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, December 3, 1986.

pendence Caldoche settler Norbert Caffa, "but rather with a conscious strategy of the colonial Right which plans its actions seriously."

One group, the Patriotic Action Committee (CAP), founded in November 1985, claims 1200 card-carrying members. It seeks to mobilize the white New Caledonians to active resistance and support for "militants who attempt to neutralize FLNKS action commandos or their sympathizers." It includes many leading figures of the extreme right such as territorial councillor Justin Guillemard and Henri Morini, chief of the anti-independence Rally for the Republic (RPCR) party's secret militia. Another extreme group, Free Caledonian Forces, circulated a chain letter naming a "hit list" of 56 pro-independence victims. The letter advocated tactics



Credit: David Robie.

Kanaky militants guard the road into Thio village.

ranging from threats and attacks on houses to "total action" such as "disappearance without a trace."⁷

Journalists trying to report the facts in both New Caledonia and French Polynesia are facing increasing intimidation and harassment. Recently, an Australian journalist visiting New Caledonia was followed by French security agents and then arrested and detained for having taken illegal photographs. He was later released uncharged but without his film.

Six days before the "sham" referendum on independence on September 13, four Sydney-based journalists were arrested by French paratroopers near Hienghene when they arrived to investigate the sabotage of a Kanak radio station, Radio Maxa. The FLNKS has accused the French of carrying out the sabotage (see sidebar).

Although there have been attempts to cover up the assassination of Éloi Machoro and keep the media from investigating this crime, the struggle for Kanaky independence continues. The French found in Algiers that keeping control of a colony when faced with a determined resistance requires the use of repression and leads to the death of many people. Let us hope they won't have to learn that lesson again in New Caledonia. ●

7. *The Kanaks of New Caledonia*, Minority Rights Group, London, 1986.

Bombs, Threats Hit Kanaky Press

Bombs, sabotage, death threats, and assaults are all in a day's work for the young journalists and other staff working for the fledgling radio stations and a newspaper campaigning for independence in New Caledonia.

The three FM stations operating in the capital, Noumea, the northeastern town of Hienghene and the Loyalty Islands, and the newspaper *Bwenando*, face formidable obstacles not encountered by other news media in the South Pacific. While they see themselves as the "free" voice of Kanaky, they are portrayed by the French-controlled mainstream new media as "revolutionary" and trying to subvert the French republic. One French journalist, Oliver Coube, editor of the FLNKS controlled regional governments development magazine *Construire* and correspondent of the Paris daily *Le Martin*, was recently savagely beaten by three masked vigilantes. One of the attackers was allegedly a local right-wing journalist.

During a recent independence referendum two pro-independence radio stations, Radio Djiido and Radio Maxa, were subjected to jamming and sabotage. "The anti-independence extremists will try everything they can to silence us, even kill us if they have to," Jacques Violette, one of the directors of *Bwenando* (which means Customary Way), says. "Two bomb attempts have already been made on our premises in an attempt to stop us publishing."

"Death threats are common and Radio Djiido faces the same thing. Our militants have to patrol the grounds at night to protect the station from attacks."

Violette alleges that French paratroopers sabotaged Radio Maxa a week before the recent independence referendum and he accuses the military high command of covering up the incident.

He points out the paratroopers were guarding the Hienghene television and radio relay mast when the sabotage was carried out. Cables linking the tower and Radio Maxa were severed in three places.

"It is obvious the soldiers were responsible," he said. "They were guarding the installation. Nobody else could have got close enough to carry out the sabotage."

Mr. Violette, on a hit list of anti-independence extremists, prefers to keep a low profile over his work with *Bwenando*. He is among a select group of French-born or *Caldoche* (settler) pro-independence campaigners who are singled out by white vigilantes for terrorist attacks—several have had their cars or homes firebombed.

A "free" press in New Caledonia means not just freedom to print or broadcast any article but the freedom from being shot if you do. ●

Nicaragua: The Threat Of A Good Example

by Edward S. Herman*

The Reagan administration has spent a great deal of the taxpayer's money selling the war against Nicaragua,¹ and with notable success in shaping the terms of the debate and the national perception of the Sandinista revolution. Among the top Democrats and the elite press it is a given that the Sandinistas are "very bad," in contrast with the Salvadoran and Guatemalan governments, which are "democratic" and "good," though imperfect. It is also premised that the Reagan administration seeks "democracy" in Nicaragua (and elsewhere), though it may use dubious means to attain this aim. Given these premises, the debate is then over tactics on how best to oppose the Sandinistas in the interest of democracy.

The administration has not only shaped the underlying debate over the Sandinista menace, it has also been given a free hand to manipulate day-to-day issues. This has usually consisted of its leveling charges at the Sandinistas, which the mainstream press dutifully reports without *substantive* objectivity (are the charges true? is there a hidden agenda imbedded in this handout?). This allows an administration allegedly interested in containing Big Government to function as Big Brother. Thus Reagan can repeatedly assert before national audiences "that top Nicaraguan government officials are deeply involved in drug trafficking," while the press occasionally places on the back pages admissions by the Drug Enforcement Agency that there is no proof of these charges. On the other hand, the evidence that the *contras* are up to their ears in the drug business, and that the CIA has raised money for the *contras* from the drug mafia, is overwhelming. But the media simply refuse to portray these facts forthrightly, or press the *contra* drug connection, or criticize the Great Fabricator for another hypocritical lie.²

In early August, the administration, with the assistance of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Jim Wright (Dem.-Tex.), came up with a "peace plan." This plan was clearly in the tradition of the Lyndon Johnson Vietnam peace plans of 1965-68, designed to fail in order to clear the ground for the continued prosecution of war, and assured of that result by its terms—the Nicaraguans would disarm and "democratize" to our and the *contras*' satisfaction within six weeks, after which we would refrain from providing the *contras* with arms (although continuing "humanitarian" aid)—and the administration's control over their interpretation. In reporting the Reagan peace plan, the press never referred to the antecedent experience, and was cautiously optimistic about its prospects, even though its terms were grotesque and the real intent was obvious, including interference with an ongoing dialogue among the Central American governments in Guatemala City.

To the dismay of the administration, the Central American governments arrived at their own accord, thus rendering the administration's plan inoperative. The sequel was interesting. After a few days of lukewarm support, the administration moved to the position that the Nicaraguan government could not be trusted to abide by an agreement.³ This line was not necessary in reference to the Reagan plan, because it precluded any agreement whatsoever! The Central American governments' plan, however, was not firmly under administration control, so that an injection of sand into the gears was felt necessary. The administration also began to distribute a statement describing how the Vietnamese had allegedly violated the Paris Peace Agreements of 1973, to supplement their case for Nicaraguan untrustworthiness.

The administration's rendering of the history of the Paris agreements was one more fabrication. Just as the United States had refused to abide by the Geneva Accords of 1954, so it reneged on its own signed promises of 1973. The Paris agreements recognized two parallel and equivalent "South Vietnamese parties," the U.S.-backed Saigon government and the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), based on the guerrillas, that were to pursue an internal settlement within the south, then move toward reunification through peaceful means. Meanwhile, "foreign countries shall not impose any political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people" and "the United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Viet-

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1. A contract between the State Department and International Business Communications (IBC) for lobbying on behalf of the *contras* was worth \$419,000. This was only one of 25 contracts investigated by the GAO which "the Latin America Public Diplomacy office awarded to individuals for research and papers on Central America," said a GAO official involved in the investigation. Rita Beamish, "Pro-*contra* contracts are probed," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 22, 1987, p. 4a. For a good account of the selling process, see Eldon Kenworthy, "Selling the Policy," in Thomas W. Walker, ed., *Reagan Versus the Sandinistas: The Undeclared War on Nicaragua* (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1987).

2. There have been a handful of articles on the *contra* drug connection, and CBS's "West 57th Street" had a hard-hitting series exploring the topic, but the news articles were few and isolated. Given the importance of drugs in administration and media hype, the *contra* drug connection would have been top order news for an unbiased mass media.

3. This worry, conveyed by the "Honorable" Elliott Abrams, for a government that had been taking the United Nations and Organization of American States Charters, the Neutrality Act, and jurisdiction of the International Court with a grain of salt, was reported by the media without comment.

nam" (Articles 9c, 4). All of these provisions the U.S. government immediately repudiated: Nixon announced on January 23, 1984 that the Thieu government was the "sole legitimate government in South Vietnam," and he gave unstinting support to Thieu's effort to destroy the parallel and equivalent indigenous opposition by force from the moment of the signing of the accords. When, many months later, North Vietnam responded to these attacks and the Thieu government collapsed, this was alleged to be an iniquitous violation of the agreements! The press swallowed the Nixon-Kissinger line in 1973-75, and we may expect this proof of Communist unreliability—based on an Orwellian perversion of history—to be accepted by the mainstream media today.

Let us return, however, to the more basic contentions that underlie the war against Nicaragua. As noted, the administration has largely succeeded in narrowing the debate, so that there is no serious discussion of Reagan's real aims or dispute over his alleged interest in democracy. This has greatly weakened the case against the Reagan war, because it gives away most of the game by simple and wholly unwarranted default.

History into the Black Hole

The histories most relevant to understanding U.S. policy toward Nicaragua are those of Nicaragua itself and Guatemala. The United States occupied Nicaragua for most of the period 1912-33, leaving in its wake a Somoza family dictatorship that lasted for 45 years. Under Somoza the majority of the population were treated like pack animals and the country like a preserve for private looting. But the Somozas served as loyal agents of the United States, and they received its protection to the bitter end. The mass media sometimes

mention the Somozas in passing, but they do not reflect on the meaning of our selection and durable support for their non-democratic rule, and they refrain from comparing social and political conditions under Somoza and the Sandinistas. Our natural right to intervene is not forfeited by a record of self-interested support of tyranny. Instead it is maintained by a hypocritical interest in democracy, miraculously discovered in July 1979, plus a blacking out of history.

Guatemalan history is a treasure trove of pertinent analogies. Again, the United States supported a murderous but amenable tyrant, Jorge Ubico, for years without feeling any pressing need for change. But the democratic Arévalo and Arbenz regimes that followed quickly disturbed U.S. policymakers; relations soured in 1947, coincident with the passage of a code allowing trade unions. The modest land reform program of the Arbenz government (1951-1954) intensified the hostility of the oligarchy and United Fruit, and the United States organized a mercenary army which invaded Guatemala (from Somoza's "loyal" Nicaragua), and with a great deal of direct U.S. help overthrew the legally elected government. This was done on the alleged basis, not of mundane interests, but of Guatemala's threat to its neighbors, a "reign of terror" (Dulles), and the imminent prospect that it would become a Soviet base. U.S. officials and the press agreed that Castillo Armas had saved democracy.

In reality, Guatemala was virtually disarmed by 1954 as a result of a U.S. arms boycott, and its threat to its neighbors was purely fictional. When the Guatemalan government imported some arms from Czechoslovakia in 1954 as the U.S. prepared for invasion, U.S. officials and the press became hysterical with outrage at this proof of iniquity. The claims of a reign of terror were ludicrous in the light of a comparison with the predecessor U.S.-backed dictatorship, which had elicited no such charges. In fact, freedom of speech, press, and organization, and freedom from state terror in the years of Guatemalan democracy (1946-1954) were at a level never approached earlier or since. The charge of Communist domination was also fraudulent.⁴

The sequel was remarkable; all the important *false* claims against Arbenz were realized in fact under the rule of successor governments acceptable to the United States. Pluralism was destroyed in an anticommunist reign of terror, political democracy was ended, as was any possibility of reform by peaceful methods. With U.S. aid the Guatemalan army was built up and a "counterinsurgency state" was created to protect against reform by nonpeaceful methods. Given the terrible inequalities, and the absence of political options, insurgencies were provoked, which the army crushed, in a regular cycle. Periodically, a civilian was permitted to preside, but not rule; the army and oligarchy retained ultimate power.

Given the fact that Guatemala was "saved for democracy" in 1954, there are some important lessons to be learned from that experience. These are painful lessons, however, and for the mass media this historical experience is kept in a black hole.

4. See Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit* (New York: Doubleday, 1982), pp. 55-61.



Credit: Associated Press

Nicaraguan dictator, Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

The Big Lies

The lies that have been institutionalized in the 1980s regarding the Nicaraguan revolution—and I can only deal here with a few of the big ones—parallel fairly closely those used for Guatemala, 1947-1954. The first is that the Sandinista government constitutes a *military threat to its neighbors*. This claim, ludicrous on its face, is supported even today by the phrase “a revolution without frontiers,” attributed to Tomás Borge, taken from a speech in which he carefully explained that Nicaragua’s revolution could not be exported, but that he hoped its *example* would spread far and wide. The administration and press keep using the phrase to suggest an intended military expansion, and the press refuses to inform the public that this is disinformation.⁵

The administration also periodically offers data allegedly showing the size of Nicaraguan military forces and alleged weapons orders, making frightening comparisons with Nicaragua’s neighbors. The mainstream press takes this very seriously, never mentioning that Nicaragua is under attack by a foreign power, rarely comparing Sandinista forces with those of its U.S. client neighbors taken together, and never including U.S. arms in the balance, although these would be used in case of a genuine Nicaraguan invasion (and the administration has been itching to use them on any pretext). The U.S. threat requires that the Sandinistas be very cautious in retaliating against incursions from Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica, which powerful countries would never tolerate (e.g., imagine the U.S. reaction to Nicaraguan spon-

5. See Morris Morley and James Petras, *The Reagan Administration and Nicaragua: How Washington Constructs Its Case For Counterrevolution in Central America* (New York: Institute for Media Analysis, 1987), p. 41.



Credit: George Black

Guatemalan “democrat,” Efraín Ríos Montt.

sored attacks on Texas launched from Mexico).

That the threat to neighbors and security is a cover for a hidden agenda is shown by the U.S. sabotage of both the Contadora and Arias plans and its already mounting offensive to subvert the Guatemala City accord. The Contadora plan in particular provided for the removal of foreign advisers and bases, limits on arms, control over arms shipments to local rebels, and detailed inspection procedures. The Reagan administration supported this plan until Nicaragua agreed to sign, at which point the administration panicked, and quickly arranged for its controlled clients to insist on revised terms. Nothing could show more clearly that the verbiage about military threats and Soviet bases is a fraud, but the media

How the Democrats Get Themselves Into the Contra Corner by Lack of Principle

The administration’s announced plan to request \$270 million for aid to the *contras* was greeted by the leading Democrats with the reply that this was a bad idea because it would interfere with the ongoing Central American governmental effort to settle conflicts in accord with the principles of the Guatemala City agreement. They did not suggest that support of a terrorist army in violation of both domestic and international law was objectionable. They did not even attack forthrightly the mindless and hypocritical Reagan-Shultz gambit that the *contras* are needed to press the Sandinistas toward democratic reform.¹

Having failed to establish a principled position in opposition to *contra* aid, the Democrats have set themselves up once again to be finessed by the administration. The administration can undercut them by intensifying its pressures on its highly dependent clients in El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica itself, to sabotage any settlement, as the administration did after the Sandinistas surprised them by accepting the Contadora proposals. This will not be difficult, given the degree of leverage and the refusals of the press to expose the administration’s arm twisting. The administration will then point to the impossibility of doing business with the “Marxist-Leninists,” and the Democrats will once again be in a quandary based on their cowardly failure to oppose state terrorism and gross violations of law when carried out by their own outlaw government. ●

1. Three points that are rarely if ever mentioned together by the leading Democrats or elite press, should always be raised in response to this gambit: First, the administration never favors the use of military force and aid to freedom fighters to prod South Africa, Chile, or other friendly terrorist and non-democratic states toward “democracy.” Second, any state under attack by a foreign-sponsored army will necessarily crack down on subversion and encroach on dissent, thus weakening the democratic fabric—so that the inevitable consequence of *contra* aid is *diminished* democracy in Nicaragua. Third, this suggests that the role of the *contras* is to *evoke repression to justify further aid to the contras*, to serve some further end quite alien to “democracy”—except in the Reagan-Orwellian sense in which a “democracy” is the rule of people like Somoza who will serve the needs of U.S. power.



Nicaraguans waiting to vote in election which was model of fairness, compared to El Salvador.

played dumb.

The second big—and double-header—lie is that *Nicaragua is a totalitarian dungeon* that seriously violates human rights and that *this is a point of the remotest concern to the Reagan administration* (aside from propaganda service). In fact, one of the two essential differences between the Nicaraguan government and the Salvadoran and Guatemalan governments is that the Sandinistas do not systematically murder ordinary civilians. In both El Salvador and Guatemala death squads and disappearances have been extremely important features of social reality, and officially sponsored murders of ordinary citizens in the 1980s are in the tens of thousands in each country. Americas Watch has noted the fact that “In Nicaragua there is no systematic practice of forced disappearances, extrajudicial killings or torture—as has been the case with the ‘friendly’ armed forces of El Salvador.” A comparison of official murders in “totalitarian” Nicaragua and “democratic” El Salvador and Guatemala would be awkward, so the mass media do not allow the matter to be discussed. For example, a study of the 85 opinion columns on Nicaragua that appeared in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* in the first three months of 1986, showed that not a single one mentioned this highly significant feature differentiating Nicaragua from the “democracies,” although a great majority castigated the Nicaraguan government. These columns also carefully avoided comparisons of press freedom, although attending frequently to the trials of *La Prensa*. A *La Prensa* equivalent on the left could never exist in El Salvador or Guatemala, and the mass media do not mention that two centrist papers were destroyed in El Salvador in 1980-81, or that since 1980, 30 or more journalists have been murdered in each of the “democratic” countries, none in Nicaragua.

In a visit to Guatemala in December 1982, President Reagan declared that the then head-of-state, General Ríos Montt, was a devoted democrat getting a “bum rap.” This was only two months after Amnesty International released a

report detailing the massacre of over 2,600 Indians and peasant farmers in at least 112 separate incidents earlier in the year. In one of its most illuminating reports ever, *Guatemala Revisited: How the Reagan Administration Finds “Improvements” in Human Rights in Guatemala*, Americas Watch pointed out that the administration had first found General Lucas García to be a caring leader, very concerned to avoid civilian casualties, but that after his overthrow by Ríos Montt the administration suddenly found that García had been a butcher, but *now* Guatemala was in the hands of real reformers! After Ríos Montt was overthrown by General Mejía Victores, the State Department once again expressed deep anguish at the murders under Ríos Montt, now replaced by a *true* democrat. This report, which tells us so much about the Reagan administration’s devotion to democracy and human rights, was ignored by the mass media.

The third big lie is that *the Nicaraguan election was a farce*, which properly failed to legitimize Sandinista rule, whereas the elections in El Salvador and Guatemala met proper electoral standards and established democratic rule. A group sponsored by the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), perhaps the best qualified observer team ever to evaluate a Third World election, concluded that the Nicaraguan election “by Latin American standards was a model of probity and fairness.” This assessment was not reported in the elite (“adversary”!) press, as their government was maintaining the contrary. Nor did the press report on judgments by foreign government delegations, all of whom compared Nicaragua’s election favorably with that of El Salvador.

The chief argument used to deny the validity of the Nicaraguan election is that the “main opposition,” namely Arturo Cruz, was not allowed to run. But Cruz was not a “main opposition,” except in the public relations hype of the administration and the supportive media. A long time expatriate, Cruz had no substantial support within Nicaragua, and there

is no reason to believe that he would have drawn many votes in a free election. Although the *contra* radio urged abstention or voting blank, and with voting not obligatory, 91 percent of the adult population voted in the Nicaraguan election of 1984 (versus 53 percent in the 1984 U.S. presidential election). The Sandinistas got 736,967 votes (67 percent) and unmarked or improperly marked ballots totalled only 71,209 (6 percent). It is also not true that Cruz could not run—he *chose* not to run, or did so under U.S. pressure (and he eventually acknowledged being on the CIA payroll). There is solid evidence that this was done according to a plan whereby he would first pretend to run, then withdraw in order to discredit the election. The press nevertheless portrayed the election issues in close accord with the propaganda formula of a “main opposition” excluded by Sandinista intransigence.

Meanwhile, the mass media never noticed that the rebel Democratic Front of El Salvador—a *real* “main opposition” with a mass base in the country—could not participate in its elections by virtue of credible death threats and electoral plan.⁶ In Guatemala, the left was off the ballot entirely by law and threat of murder. And the mass media never suggested as relevant to election quality and meaning that the Salvadoran and Guatemalan military killed ordinary civilians freely, and that *voting was required by law*, whereas in Nicaragua, civilians were not murdered freely, while voting was *not* obligatory. This would seem to make voter turnout more meaningful in Nicaragua, but in the U.S. mass media the turnout in El Salvador was a “triumph” whereas that in Nicaragua was hardly noticed. This is a propaganda system at work.

The Threat of a Good Example

If the first important difference between the Nicaraguan government and those of El Salvador and Guatemala is that the former does not murder civilians freely, the second is that it actively pursues “the logic of the majority.” This means that “The state will use its power to guarantee fulfillment of the basic needs of the majority population” (LASA report). In quest of this, the Sandinista government mobilized a large fraction of the population in a National Literacy Campaign, in the extension of health resources into the countryside, in redistributing land, and in other reforms. Hunger was largely eliminated, despite the terrible material toll of war. The former pack animals were now the *beneficiaries of and participants in* government policy.

In a report on Central America, Oxfam America says that:

Among the four countries in the region where Oxfam America works [Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras], only in Nicaragua has a substantial effort

been made to address inequities in land ownership and to extend health, educational, and agricultural services to poor peasant families. But the *contra* war had slowed the pace of social reform and compounded hunger in the northern countryside.

Oxfam’s parent organization in London, in a report entitled *The Threat of a Good Example?* states that “from Oxfam’s experience of working in 76 developing countries, Nicaragua was to prove exceptional in the strength of that government’s commitment ‘to improving the condition of the people and encouraging their active participation in the development process’ [quoting from the World Bank].” Oxfam America went on to point out that in contrast with the effective land reform in Nicaragua, the one in El Salvador “has not been carried out” and “was not intended to benefit the rural poor in the first place.” In Guatemala there has been no pretense at land reform, as the oligarchy has objected strongly even to resettling peasants on government-owned land, which would reduce the supply of cheap labor on the large farms. In the 85 opinion pieces on Nicaragua in the *Times* and *Post* referred to earlier, only two make even passing reference to the Sandinista social programs, and none compares them with those of the U.S. clients in the area.

As the charges against Nicaragua are not true, just as those against the Arbenz government were propaganda falsehoods, it is hard to escape the conclusion that they are a cover for a real basis of disapproval that cannot easily be voiced. The threat posed by Nicaragua is the threat of its *virtues*, its “good example” in showing the masses that the government can serve their needs; that they need not resign themselves to the fate of impoverished service to their superiors. The Catholic Institute of International Relations in London ended its 1987 report on Nicaragua noting that “the positive achievements of the Nicaraguan revolution...offer [the poor] an alternative model and make Nicaragua a symbol of the hope that, despite all the odds, a better life is possible.” This is a real threat in a region of extreme inequality of wealth and persistent mass hunger.

The war on Nicaragua is designed to end this threat, or at a minimum to cause a slowdown or termination of reform, which Oxfam indicates has already been successfully accomplished by the *contra* attacks. It is also hoped that the war will cause a crackdown on dissent and a purchase of weapons from the Eastern bloc (following the U.S. refusal of arms and pressure on its allies to terminate arms supplies). This can then be used, as in 1954, to “prove” the justice of the terrorism based on entirely different considerations. The United States cannot admit that it is the humanistic and democratic qualities of Nicaragua (and Guatemala, 1945-54) that are intolerable; it must pretend that it is the terrible misdeeds of the “good example” that drive it regretfully to counterrevolutionary terror. The mass media have played a very cooperative role in the war against Nicaragua, just as they did in the earlier assault on Guatemala. But the policy and the media coverage are based on egregious lies, a disregard of history, and an attack on democracy, self-determination, and elementary justice. ●

6. The plan was to call for an election under conditions in which the left could not run at all, and to make voting for anybody a vote against the rebels. A high turnout would be a triumph for the election sponsors. It was important to keep under wraps the fact that voting was required by law, and that the army killed “subversives”. The media did this. See Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead, *Demonstration Elections: U.S.-Sponsored Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and El Salvador* (Boston: South End Press, 1984).

Twenty-seven Double Agents:

Cuba Exposes Massive CIA Operations

By Rosemari Mealy,* Ellen Ray, and Bill Schaap

In an astonishing, eleven-part television series shown on Cuban TV last July and August, nearly 100 U.S. government employees, most of them operating under diplomatic cover from the fifth floor of the United States Interests Section in Havana, or as U.S. diplomats in transit, were shown to have been engaged for years in extensive espionage activities throughout the island. The exposures were also documented in the Cuban daily, *Granma*, which provided names and photographs of some 89 of the spies, and a number of surveillance photographs of the agents in action.¹

Unbeknownst to the Washington operatives, the Cuban security service, using hidden TV cameras, had filmed a host of activities including Interests Section personnel testing sophisticated equipment such as the RS-804, a transmitter used for relaying information via the FLTSATCOM satellite to CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. Other footage captured individuals making money drops and retrieving information from receptacles disguised as rocks, while other photos were made of agents in various compromising positions as they sought to make contact at designated points throughout the country.

The testimony, irrefutable proof of espionage, was presented to the Cuban people—not by actors playing spy roles—but by Cuban state security agents who had infiltrated the CIA for a very long time, some for more than ten years, and one for 21 years! They appeared on Cuban TV screens night after night with personal accounts and testimony of who they knew, and what they did. Afterwards, there was enough paraphernalia available to mount an exhibit at the José Martí Library of the latest surveillance and espionage equipment used by the CIA in its dirty work all over the world.

Double Agents Tell All

Twenty-seven Cuban double agents told their tales: How CIA officers spent a great deal of time tracking the movements of Fidel Castro, of his doctors, his bodyguards, his close associates, all in order to pursue their attempts—for thirty years now—to assassinate the Cuban leader. The double agents told how the CIA had attempted to lure Cuban athletes into defecting, especially at the Pan-American Games held this past August in Indianapolis, Indiana (where, in fact, no Cubans defected). They told of attempts to recruit doctors working as internationalists in many countries, and of never-ending attempts to recruit artists, intellectuals, and

government officials. Other double agents testified about attempts to sabotage Cuba's trade negotiations around the world dealing with sugar, nickel, citrus fruit, and tobacco.

But perhaps most chilling—given their past murderous actions—were the CIA activities which clearly pointed to ongoing chemical and biological warfare activities against Cuba. As documented previously in *CAIB*,² CIA programs of CBW were responsible for Cuban epidemics of swine fever, sugarcane blight, tobacco mould, and hemorrhagic dengue fever, from the 1960s to the 1980s. Constant efforts by the CIA personnel at the Interests Section to learn of the condition of various Cuban crops and of the effects of various diseases suggest that these CBW programs are not dormant.

Two Cuban double agents, engineer Orlando Argudín and Angel López Núñez, an agronomist in charge of the Cuban crop blight control program, were ordered by the CIA to report on crops, plant health programs, and diseases affecting Cuban agriculture. One CIA officer even had López take him to visit fields and laboratories posing as a Polish technician, since he spoke the language. The two were secretly filmed on that visit and it was later broadcast to the Cuban people.

Another member of Cuban state security, José Abel González López, played the double agent game for ten years. He was head of the Technical Supervision Department of the Cuban State Committee on Economic Operations. González confirmed earlier charges that the CIA had introduced bacteriological warfare into the country on several occasions. The CIA wanted to know the results and impact of the dengue fever on the population between 1979-81, when the fever swept the country, afflicting more than a third of a million people, more than 150 of whom died, including 101 children. They were particularly interested in the problems encountered with the medicines used for treatment.

González was also given lessons in "secret writing" and radio training with a code name and selected frequencies for twice-weekly transmissions. He met twice a year with his CIA case officer in Madrid.

One of the 27 Cubans the CIA thought they had recruited explained the failures of the Agency:

They underestimate us and view us with contempt. Perhaps this disclosure will make them see that many Third

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1. See especially the weekly English editions of *Granma* for July 19, August 2, August 9, August 23, and October 11, 1987.

2. See Bill Schaap, "The 1981 Cuba Dengue Epidemic," *CAIB* Number 17 (Summer 1982), p. 28; Ken Lawrence, "The History of U.S. Bio-Chemical Killers," *CAIB* Number 17 (Summer 1982), p. 5; and Robert Lederer, "Chemical-Biological Warfare, Medical Experiments, and Population Control," *CAIB* Number 28 (Summer 1987), p. 33.

The CIA's Never-Ending War Against Cuba

In 1975, Senator Frank Church (Dem.-Id.) chaired a fact-finding committee authorized by Congress to probe the activities of the CIA around the world. The revelations contained in the report were startling. The agency had built up a covert empire which secretly plotted and/or supported the assassination and murder of at least five leaders, including Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, and leaders in South Vietnam and Chile. But the 347-page Committee report, *Alleged Assassination Plots Against Foreign Leaders*, devoted more than 100 pages to Cuba.

Evidence linked the CIA to numerous invasion activities and at least eight plots to assassinate President Fidel Castro between 1960 and 1965. Most notable was the CIA's specific plan to murder the Cuban leader which was discussed in Paris by the high CIA official Desmond Fitzgerald with the would-be assassin, "AMLASH," on November 22, 1963, the day President John F. Kennedy was assassinated.

The Church Committee report exposed those forces in the U.S. which had tried all along to whitewash Cuba's charges: that the CIA had been involved in extensive spying, sabotage, and attempted assassination since well before the 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco.

Wayne Smith, head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana from 1977-1982 wrote in his recent book, *The Closest of Enemies*, that when he first went to work for the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research in 1957, he worked as a junior analyst whose task was to: "assist the analyst who handled Cuba."

When the Kennedy administration suspended diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1961, Fidel Castro claimed that the U.S. Embassy in Havana was nothing more than a "nest of spies." This issue prompted the Cubans to demand that the Embassy staff in Havana be reduced to eleven officials, a number that corresponded to the number of Cubans assigned to Washington at the time.

Meanwhile, cold war analysts and so-called experts on Cuban affairs joined the CIA in formulating policy consistent with the CIA's actions. Cuba was thus the recipient of one of the most extensive intelligence gathering strategies to be employed by the U.S. against any country in this hemisphere. In addition to photo reconnaissance and the monitoring of all radio transmissions, there were raids into the country by counterrevolutionaries, sabotage, infiltration and a host of other warfare designs.

The U.S. media joined in a campaign of disinformation, distorting what was really taking place in the country in order to manipulate public opinion against the Cuban revolution and Cuba's very right to exist as a sovereign and independent nation.

While the Iran/contras hearings were taking place, more current revelations of CIA activity were broadcast over Cuban television. Cuban State security agents who had infiltrated the CIA were interviewed on Cuban TV in a series of programs being aired in July and August 1987, entitled "The CIA's War Against Cuba." The details of these programs are the subject of the main article. ●

World nations, including Cuba, must be reckoned with. Since money and more money is all they work for, they view every Cuban abroad, every doctor or teacher, as a potential soldier or agent.³

This comment helps explain why the CIA's war against Cuba has failed year after year. Those who infiltrated the Agency at the most crucial levels — some for over 20 years — attest to the ability of Cuba's counterintelligence forces, and the extent to which Cuban state security has monitored the CIA.

Some Case Studies

Ignacio Rodríguez-Mena Castrillón spent the last 21 of his 52 years as agent Julio of the CIA — and as agent Isidro of Cuban security. He offered a view of why the CIA was so intent on getting rid of Fidel Castro. The Agency, he said, was

3. *Granma*, July 19, 1987, p. 6.



Two U.S. Interests Section officials preparing to leave equipment for their local agent. Credit: Prensa Latina.



Some of the espionage equipment delivered by U.S. Interests Section personnel to undercover Cuban security agents. Lighters, pens, oil filters, and videocassettes were all hollow. Credit: Prensa Latina.

"obsessed with keeping tabs on all of the Commander-in-Chief's movements," and by the end of 1986, the U.S. was thinking that if Castro could be made to "disappear, it would raise the question as to who would become the next leader of the country." The "revolution," they thought, would "start immediately" in Cuba, and that kind of revolution would be one in which the CIA would place their "own people in power."

Rodríguez-Mena said that "the CIA thinks that there are large percentages of people in Cuba who are against the revolution" and that "the biggest mistake of the CIA is its under-estimation of the strength of the revolution." He noted, though, that in their jobs as infiltrators, he and his colleagues often deliberately misinformed the CIA so that they would come to these absurd assumptions.

Rodríguez-Mena also said that the obsessive desire to kill the Cuban leader went as far back as 1959, as the Cuban revolution gained prominence all over the world. The CIA imagined that this revolution would end up like all others in Latin America, "surviving for one year or two and then be overthrown and returned back to the old rule."

Rodríguez-Mena and others revealed in the series how the CIA had been involved in sabotage. One of the most heinous crimes orchestrated by the Agency against Cuba involved the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner in Barbados in which 73 people were killed. Rodríguez-Mena missed the fatal flight because his wife's plans changed at the last minute. When he went to meet her, he did not make flight changes for himself, and thus did not wind up in the fatal crash. Later on, he met

his CIA contact in Madrid, Spain who told him that "the sabotage of the aircraft was done by people recruited by the CIA."

Fooling the Polygraphs

Many of the double agents, who earned a combined total of over half a million dollars from the CIA, told how they foiled lie detector tests administered by the CIA with unquestioning faith. According to *Granma*:

CIA officers firmly believe in their lie detector. Every time [double agent José Meléndez Álvarez] went on to a new stage, they would have him do a lie detector test, conducted by a specialist brought over from the United States for the purpose. "They would prepare me psychologically for the test, saying that it never failed, that



Officer leaving U.S. Interests Section building with espionage equipment for his "agent". Credit: Prensa Latina.

it recorded any answer that wasn't true; they even warned me of the consequences a lie could bring, but it has been proved that where there are strong convictions and control, the machine is of no use..."⁴

Another double agent, Antonio García Urquiola, also passed many such tests. "The device itself," he said, "is meaningless without psychological conditioning, which is designed to instill fear."⁵ García, a captain with the Mambisa Shipping Lines, was, the CIA thought, recruited by them in Amsterdam in 1978. In fact, since 1966 he had been working for the DGI, the Cuban secret service, trained to guard against attempts to sabotage the Cuban merchant marine. He too was always asked about the movements of the Cuban President and his bodyguards. A CIA officer from the Interests Section met with him on a Havana streetcorner last February to deliver a radio and other equipment for receiving instructions from Langley. The surreptitious meeting was secretly filmed by the Cubans and later shown on television.

When Cuban doctor Eduardo Sagaró González was in Mexico in 1978, U.S. agents approached him and asked him

4. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1987, p. 2.

5. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1987, p. 6.

Who Is Harming Whom?

A three-paragraph news item appeared in *New York Newsday* and the *New York Times* on July 16, 1987, quoting State Department spokesperson, Bruce Ammerman: "The Cuban media's charges of espionage activity by Interest Section personnel has caused irreparable harm to them and their families and endangered their safety."

But no major U.S. news sources reported any details of Cuba's charges against the CIA—in particular the documented account that over one-half the officials at the Interests Section and more than one-third of the personnel in transit since 1977 were CIA officers. Nor did the U.S. media report on a series of revealing diplomatic notes between the two governments.

On the morning of July 6 the Cubans informed the U.S. of the television series to commence that night, referring to the "irresponsible and dangerous" conduct of the many CIA officers. The Cuban Foreign Ministry noted that it had issued several warnings to the U.S. through official channels, but that the conduct had not diminished.

On July 14, the U.S. State Department replied to the note, referring to the television series as "harassment," and complaining of the "unwarranted surveillance against certain U.S. Interests Section employees." Because, it said, "this scurrilous media campaign has endangered" those employees, the U.S.—with little logic—ordered the expulsion from the United States of two Cuban diplomats at their Interests Section in Washington. Most significant is that the U.S. reply did *not* deny the charges, except to "reject the allegation" that the employees exposed were involved in a plan to assassinate President Castro.

The Cuban Foreign Ministry responded to the U.S. reply on July 16, noting "that the State Department does not dare to specifically deny Cuba's well-founded charges that a large number of officials at the U.S. Interests Section...have been involved in activities of espionage and subversion." The Cubans reiterated that they had "testimony, evidence, and proof of espionage activities being carried out by the Interests Section personnel since the Interests Section was reopened in Havana in 1977," and they reminded the State Department that they had offered in their first note to "provide...an English version of the material shown, once the broadcast was completed." The U.S. has never asked for the tapes. ●

to defect. Although he refused, he kept calm, leading the CIA to believe he was at least ripe for recruitment. And, in 1980 in Mozambique, they "recruited" him, not knowing that he was cooperating with the Cuban intelligence service. His main task for the CIA was to provide information about the health of Cuban leaders and medical facilities at security force clinics.

Dulce María Santiesteban Loureiro was a double agent for eleven years, continuing the career of her father—who had worked at the National Bank with Ché Guevara and, until his death, as a double agent with the CIA. She did not learn of her father's secret service career until the day he died, when she learned that he had been totally trusted by the CIA. Despite the Agency's gullibility, Santiesteban remarked how "absurd" it was that anyone would have thought her father, a comrade of Ché's, could have betrayed the revolution.

The type of work she began at the Cuban Central Planning Board and the CIA's knowledge of her existence because of its contacts with her father led them to approach her on a trip she took to Spain in 1976. She had, of course, been prepared for the possibility and she became Agent Regina of the CIA and Agent Any of Cuban State Security. When "Any" married in 1979, at first she had to hide her real work—receiving and decoding messages—from her husband. But soon her husband joined her as a double agent and until the TV exposé they both worked for the CIA and, really, for Cuban State Security.

Summing up the devastating effect the exposé had on the Agency, the Cuban woman mused, "From now on the CIA will have to think twice... They have to start to understand that not everything can be bought. Cuba, our revolution, and our



A group of Cuban double agents relaxing after their stories had been published and they were no longer pretending to be CIA agents. Credit: Prensa Latina.

people have demonstrated that over and over again."⁶

The Knight of Malta

Mauro Casagrandi, an Italian lawyer, played a most unusual role in the double agent operations. Casagrandi settled in Cuba 20 years ago, the trade representative of a number of Italian manufacturers, and later married a Cuban woman. Because of contacts he had made traveling with his father, an Italian diplomat, he was asked to be the Ambassador to Cuba of the Rome-based Sovereign Military Order of Malta (SMOM). Although SMOM is an extraordinarily conservative

6. Ibid., August 9, 1987, p. 4.



Mauro Casagrandi, who refused to be recruited by the CIA and informed the Cubans of their machinations instead.

Credit: Prensa Latina.

organization,⁷ it was evidently unaware of Casagrandi's progressive political thinking, viewing him more as a commercial attaché. And because of his ties to SMOM, with its ties to worldwide intelligence operations, Casagrandi found himself, over ten years ago, the target of a CIA recruitment operation.

7. See Francois Hervet, "The Sovereign Military Order of Malta", *CAIB*, Number 25 (Winter 1986), p. 27.

He conferred with Cuban security officers and, under their guidance, accepted the CIA's offer and became a double agent for Cuba.

In the ensuing decade, Casagrandi delighted in delivering to the Cuban government the more than one quarter of a million dollars he received from the CIA for his work as their Agent Luis. He too passed numerous lie detector tests, though, he said, "I was a bit nervous; then I thought of Che and I thought of Fidel." He appeared in a two-hour interview on Cuban TV, which made him a virtual hero throughout the country. He thanked the CIA for the "excellent opportunity to participate in the Cuban revolution" it had given him.

Conclusion

The Cuban disclosures serve two very important purposes. First of all, they explain in great detail the way the CIA attempts to recruit agents and the kinds of jobs they give them. They put the lie to anyone who would call a progressive Third World nation paranoid for fearing that the U.S. Embassy was a "nest of spies." But also they help to demonstrate the foolishness of U.S. government's hope that it can subvert the Cuban revolution. It is yet another affirmation that current policies are self-defeating and that good relations with Cuba would be far more intelligent and mutually beneficial. ●

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The CIA and Reader's Digest

By Fred Landis *

Mexico City—Who killed Manuel Buendía, Mexico's most influential newspaper columnist? Almost three years after Buendía was gunned down in a Mexico City parking lot, the question is still unanswered. The lack of progress in finding his killer has become an issue in Mexico's presidential campaign.

Buendía wrote for *Excelsior*, a leading Mexico City paper. He made enemies in many places because of his reports on everything from government corruption to the activities of the CIA in Mexico.

From "Unsolved Slaying an Issue in Mexico Campaign,"
Los Angeles Times, May 21, 1987.

In particular, Buendía had written a series on the connections of the CIA with the *Reader's Digest* of Mexico (*Selecciones del Reader's Digest*). Buendía began with Daniel James, who had written extensively about Cuba for *Selecciones*. He pointed out that "in the last 20 years, Daniel James has only written what he has been ordered to by the CIA."¹

Buendía then turned his attention to the director of *Reader's Digest* in Mexico, Antonio Rodríguez Villar, whom he accused of being a CIA agent, for also having served as press spokesman for the Argentine Federal Police at the time of the junta's "dirty war," during which some 20,000 civilians disappeared.

Buendía claimed that the CIA, "a longtime friend of *Selecciones*, has taken over its Latin American editions, through individuals such as Rodríguez Villar."²

This story involves the worldwide propaganda activities of the CIA and the *Reader's Digest*, and the secret relationship between them, an informational 'black hole', about which little has been written.

The *Reader's Digest* has an annual budget of \$1.4 billion. The monthly readership worldwide is over 100 million. Entire

forests are destroyed to provide the *Digest* with 84,000 tons of paper for 16 foreign and domestic editions. Only two significant books have been written about this cultural phenomenon;³ the *Digest* is the world's most widely circulated magazine; it is also the most ignored by intellectuals and journalists.

John Barron and Dimitri Panitza

On March 11, 1985 the BBC carried the story of Soviet defector Oleg Bitov's experiences in U.S. custody. While it is not clear whether Bitov was a genuine defector who changed his mind or a KGB plant, what is certain is that the individuals assigned to handle Bitov were Dimi Panitza and John Barron, both senior editors of *Reader's Digest*.

This is Bitov's story:⁴

Panitza called on me in London and the minute he arrived, he asked whether I knew the Bulgarian capital well. I answered that I knew it pretty well. And the street adjoining the monument to the Tsar-Liberator? I recalled it. And the most attractive building in that street? Panitza remarked: "Were it not for the communists, that house would be mine."

The "Bulgarian trail—in the 'Pope Plot'—originated in Langley and John Dimitri ["Dimi"] Panitza, a former Bulgarian and now U.S. citizen living in Paris, was instrumental in bringing it into the world. His official post is European editor of the U.S. magazine *Reader's Digest*. Claire Sterling works for the *Reader's Digest* as a roving correspondent based in Rome and is consequently subordinate to the European editor, John Panitza. But whereas he has two masters, she has three: *Reader's Digest*, the CIA and Mossad.⁵

The European editor of *Reader's Digest*, John Dimi Panitza, is a transplanted Bulgarian aristocrat who has been described on the BBC as a CIA agent.⁶ According to *The Con-*

* Fred Landis is a specialist in propaganda analysis who has contributed frequently to *CAIB*. His new book, *The CIA Propaganda Machine*, is to be published shortly by Ramparts Press. Some of the material in this article is discussed by Dr. Landis in a new videotape, "Fred Landis Digests *Selecciones*," available from Paper Tiger Video, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012; purchase \$100, rental \$50.

1. James had admitted getting help from the CIA for articles. See Louis Wolf, "Accuracy in Media Rewrites the News and History," *CAIB*, Number 21 (Spring 1984), at p. 32. And see Richard Whittle, "Mystery Think Tank," *Dallas Morning News*, November 19, 1987, on James's Washington-based Mexico-United States Institute. Whittle discloses that the Ph.D. in Latin American studies "Dr." James boasts of—and his B.A.—were obtained by mail order.

2. The author recently went to Mexico to investigate Buendía's charges. Someone planted a bomb at the *Selecciones* building so it was necessary to conduct interviews in the street. The Mexican Federal Security Directorate destroyed most of Buendía's files. A collection of his published articles has appeared in book form, *La CIA en Mexico* (Mexico City: Ediciones Océano, 1984).

3. Samuel Schreiner, *The Condensed World of Reader's Digest* (New York: Stein & Day, 1977); James Playsted Wood, *Of Lasting Interest* (New York: Doubleday, 1958).

4. Transcript of BBC broadcast, March 11, 1985, reading from Bitov article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

5. Sterling delights in repeating Soviet and other charges against her, as if the existence of the charges somehow disproves them and makes her disinformation true. Moreover, of late she insists that it is only since her writings on "the Bulgarian Connection" that she has been attacked from the left. However, this author, and others, have been attacking her extreme right-wing positions and her intelligence connections for some time. See, Fred Landis, "Georgetown's Ivory Tower for Old Spooks," *Inquiry*, September 30, 1979; Donald Freed with Fred Landis, *Death in Washington* (Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill, 1980).

6. In February 1978, the *Reader's Digest* carried a posthumous article by David Holden on the Middle East. Holden had been shot dead in Cairo in mid-December 1977. Headlines appeared in the British press linking Hol-

densed World of the Reader's Digest, "Each foreign editor has some research staff and the Paris office under Staff Senior Editor John D. Panitza rivals that in Washington." Panitza invented the Bulgarian Connection in the KGB Plot to Kill the Pope and assigned the job to Claire Sterling and Paul Henze. Henze was CIA Station Chief in Turkey while Sterling is a career disinformation agent for the CIA and Mossad. In the *Reader's Digest* introduction to the first installment of Edward Jay Epstein's *Legend*, Panitza is credited with helping uncover the KGB plot behind the Kennedy assassination.

The Intelligence Background

Many senior editors at *Reader's Digest* have intelligence backgrounds; the current head of the European bureau had CIA ties, two former directors of Latin American operations reportedly were CIA assets. The *Digest* has regularly carried stories by CIA officials and undercover CIA agents. Foreign language editions were opened at the request of U.S. intelligence agencies. The magazine has been used as cover by the CIA, shared intelligence with the CIA, and circulated CIA fabrications. A senior writer was given office space at CIA headquarters. The *Digest* has been given exclusive access to CIA and OSS files, CIA agents, and CIA-controlled defectors.

- Terence Harmon, the general manager of International Operations (1965-1974), was a British intelligence officer assigned to liaison with the OSS. Harmon opened the first foreign edition in pre-war England. Adrian Beswick was assistant editor of the International Division of *Reader's Digest*. During World War II, he worked as head of the Office of War Information's Overseas News and Features Bureau.

During World War II Harmon saw to the distribution of *Reader's Digest* in neutral countries and behind enemy lines. In 1948 Harmon became the resident head of a new Italian edition. The first large-scale propaganda campaign in CIA history was the 1948 effort to keep the Italian Communist Party from a victory in the national elections.

- The first foreign language edition of the *Digest* was *Selecciones*, established in Havana in 1940. The first Director of *Selecciones* was Eduardo Cárdenas, also head of Editor's Press Service, a CIA proprietary previously run by the OSS.⁷ Under Cárdenas, the Latin American branch of the *Reader's Digest* was located in Havana, Cuba. Some two years after Fidel Castro came to power, the offices were moved to Mexico.

- Dennis McEvoy founded the Japanese edition of *Reader's Digest* in 1946 in collaboration with U.S. occupation authorities. He had served under Admiral E.M. Zacharias in psychological warfare operations against Japan.

den to the CIA. The *Sunday Times* went so far as to sue the CIA to get Holden's file. One of these reports alleged that Holden was one of several British journalists who had been sent to cover Allende's Chile for the *Reader's Digest* and was a close friend of its Paris bureau chief, Dimitri Panitza.

7. Philip Agee's book, *Inside The Company: CIA Diary* (New York: Stonehill, 1975), p. 608, states: "Editor's Press Service. CIA-controlled propaganda outlet based in New York. Material placed through CIA propaganda agents in Latin America."

- Brigadier General Paul W. Thompson in 1946 established editions of *Reader's Digest* in Germany, Austria, and Belgium.

- Andre Visson was *Reader's Digest* roving editor (1946-1952) and a senior editor (1952-1962). His career was unique in that he has worked for the Soviet news agency TASS, the CIA's Radio Liberty, and the USIA.

In anticipation of the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian revolution in 1967, the USIA "commissioned senior editor Eugene Lyons to write a pamphlet size summary of the Soviet half-century,"⁸ although it seems redundant to specify a "pamphlet size" product from the *Digest*. From the point of view of a propagandist at USIA, the magazine is a collection of propaganda pamphlets.

The War Years

When *Reader's Digest* was first introduced in 1922, its readers did not know whether it was a book or a magazine. While the size and format may have been new to newsstands, it was immediately recognizable to the psychological warfare departments of the U.S. military. A propaganda pamphlet is a standard item in the arsenal of psychological warfare. The U.S. government distributes millions of propaganda leaflets and pamphlets in any major conflict.

But it was not just a matter of size. The *Digest* had exactly the right mix of entertainment and propaganda. The *Digest* blundered into the same business as the propaganda department of U.S. government agencies and was doing a better job. As soon as World War II came along, a formal collaboration became inevitable.

During the war, the *Digest* was the object of some criticism by other magazines when it was reported that the government supplied *Reader's Digest* with paper, opened foreign editions, and used Air Force planes to distribute the magazine. According to a 1944 report by the Field Newspaper Syndicate, "The OWI helped distribute the *Reader's Digest* in Spain and suggested a Swedish edition, started last year. The OWI had since denied reports, however, that it subsidized the *Digest*."

Indeed, the OWI arranged for *Digest* General Manager A.L. Cole and assistant general manager Fred L. Thompson to become OWI employees.

CIA Operatives

CIA officers, media agents, and friendly correspondents who have written for *Reader's Digest* include, among many others, Allen Dulles, Carl Rowan, William Kintner, James Burnham, Jay Mallin, Brian Crozier, Stewart Alsop, Claire Sterling, and Daniel James.

Jay Mallin was described in *The Fish is Red*⁹ as the CIA's eyes and ears in Fidel's Cuba, where he worked under the cover of *Time* magazine. Mallin is currently the Director of Radio Martí, which broadcasts anti-Castro propaganda at Cuba.

Brian Crozier is to CIA media operations what the

8. Introduction, *Reader's Digest*, November 1967.

9. Warren Hinckle and William Turner, *The Fish Is Red: The Story of the Secret War Against Castro* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981).

American Institute for Free Labor Development is to CIA labor unions. In April 1973, Crozier wrote "Basta Ya De Terrorismo" in *Selecciones*. At this time, Crozier protégé Robert Moss was forging alliances with rightwing terrorist groups in Chile and Argentina.

Stewart Alsop was featured in Carl Bernstein's October 20, 1977 *Rolling Stone* exposé of American reporters working for the CIA. Alsop was a frequent contributor to *Reader's Digest* where, in the September 1961 *Selecciones*, he explained to *Digest* readers the "real" reason behind Africa's "backwardness" ("Africa: Enigma Sin Solucion").

According to Alsop's analysis, Africa was behind because Africans are lazy and inefficient. The tropical heat damages their brains. Further, Africans are sick most of their lives and "sick people cannot be expected to be models of energy or efficiency." In order to clear up another cultural trait which undoubtedly weighed on the minds of his readers, Alsop purported to inform us, "In Africa female posteriors have the same symbolic significance as bosoms in our culture."

Alsop finally got around to the real purpose of his article, explaining away the anti-U.S. riots in Africa over the assassination of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba. Alsop sought to explain away the protests as the work of a small handful of hard core communists cynically stirring up racial hatred on the part of gullible African natives. In fact, as we now know, the CIA had been hard at work trying "to kill Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese nationalistic leader, with bacteria that would generate a fatal disease."¹⁰

Supporting Covert Operations

In addition to carrying original stories by CIA officers and CIA agents, if you examine what are now known to have been major CIA covert operations, in every case, the *Reader's Digest* printed the CIA's cover story at that time and place. Whether Italy (1948), Berlin (1949), Guatemala (1954), Cuba (1960-present), Chile (1970-73), attacks against CIA critics in the U.S. (1975) or Nicaragua (1979-present), we shall see that the *Reader's Digest* version was the CIA party line.

The alliance between the *Digest* and U.S. government propaganda agencies forged during the war against Hitler takes on a considerably less heroic cast in the light of contemporary events. In more recent times, this has usually involved character assassination against some nationalistic Third World leader or covering up some covert operation.

Newsweek has learned that the [Nicaraguan Catholic] Church may have received hundreds of thousands of dollars in covert aid from the United States—from the CIA until 1985, and then, from Oliver North's rogue operation in the White House basement. The purpose of the funds was to "help draw attention to the church's conflict with



Credit: National Review.

John Barron, KGB "expert" and disinformationist.

the Sandinistas."¹¹

In August 1985 *Selecciones del Reader's Digest* carried a critical account of the Theology of Liberation as practiced in Nicaragua; in August 1986 it carried an article on the alleged martyrdom of a Nicaraguan priest. The name of the priest's parish was *El Calvario*, or Calvary.

Before these, in 1984 there were two other articles on Nicaragua, both by hot-shots from the Washington bureau. David Reed had a piece on Soviet influence in Nicaragua, while Nathan Adams turned his hand to the international Castro-Borge narco-trafficking plot.

The peak periods of black propaganda stories in the *Digest* were 1941 (WWII); 1960 (Cuba); and 1964-65 (Chile, Brazil, Indonesia, Vietnam) and the Reagan administration.

Of all the CIA's sore spots, Cuba is the greatest. The *Reader's Digest* had their own reasons for opposing Castro; they lost a \$1.8 million printing plant. From 1940-1960, Havana had been home base for *Digest* operations in Latin America, including ten regional editions.

Selecciones del Reader's Digest was set up in Havana to counter Axis propaganda in Latin America. Previous proposals to open a Latin edition were rejected because studies showed it would lose money. In order to offset these losses, the *Digest* allowed advertizing for the first time. While there are 16 foreign language editions, there are 10 separate editions just for South America.

While the *Reader's Digest* had evidenced a great interest in countering Axis and then communist propaganda in Latin America, its content does not reflect any great interest in local culture. According to a 1983 article, "Hispanics are much disturbed at what they call the *Reader's Digest* policies of 'defamation' and 'benign neglect' toward them. The League of United Latin American Citizens has threatened a boycott unless Hispanics get better coverage. They claim that of the 3,300 *Reader's Digest* articles published since 1970, only six have dealt with Hispanics, and that in three they were portrayed unfavorably."¹²

Specifically, the *Reader's Digest* had run character assas-

10. John Ranelagh, *The Agency* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), p. 210; Church Committee, *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), pp. 20-21; John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), pp. 236-37; Louis Wolf and Bill Vornberger, "Frank Carlucci: Diplomat, Businessman, Spy," *CAIB*, Number 27 (Spring 1987), p. 61.

11. "Covert Aid and the Church," *Newsweek*, June 15, 1987.

12. *Christianity in Crisis*, March 21, 1983.

sination campaigns against many nationalist and progressive Latin American head of state. While the *Digest* found that the Cuban exile community of Miami possesses all the qualities of capitalist efficiency and industry that Stewart Alsop found so lacking in Africa, it has little good to say about the real Cuba.

The February 1960 *Selecciones* printed the original of a CIA staple one may call "Tropical Paradise Destroyed by Communism." "The gentle climate of Cuba, its tropical white beaches, its luxury hotels, elegant cabarets and casinos, its nights illuminated by neon, offered ideal vacations for U.S. tourists and in 1957 attracted 250,000. In 1959, the luxury hotels have more employees than guests."

The introduction tells us that the author, Dickey Chapelle, spent the last months before the triumph of the revolution up in the hills with Castro. Now, she is sad to report, Cuba has become a tool of the Kremlin.

While still operating out of Havana, *Selecciones* ran an incredible provocation, "The Dangerous Man of Cuba" (September 1960). Ché Guevara was described as the brains behind Fidel Castro, an international communist with no loyalties to Cuba. The author concocted a daily meeting of Guevara with the Castro brothers in which he gave them their marching orders on behalf of Moscow.

Supporting Coups

The CIA versions of the 1964 Brazilian coup and the 1965 Indonesian uprising were essentially the same story, which made it easy for senior *Reader's Digest* editor Clarence Hall. Hall's versions are the "Nation That Saved Itself; The Magnificent Counterrevolution of Brazil Against the Communists" (*Selecciones*, December 1964), and "Indonesia—Night of Terror, Dawn of Hope" (*Selecciones*, February 1967).

In the standard CIA-concocted communist coup, the national leader, if popular, is a mere dupe. There is always some unpopular presidential advisor to play the role of sinister communist Iago. The Communist Plot to Seize Total Power and Put All Us Good Christians Up Against the Execution Wall should have a code name, a list of stages, a list of targets, and a specific time table.

The Indonesian communist plot, according to Clarence Hall and the *Digest*, had five stages: The elimination of the officer corps; the formation of a revolutionary council; killing 10,000 government leaders; establishment of a People's Republic; and fusion of Indonesia with Red China.

Once the eye of God shone providently on a pro-U.S. general who uncovered the sinister plot just in time, the aroused Indonesian patriots attacked Indonesian Communist Party offices where they discovered "detailed plans for the communist coup together with lists of the people to be assassinated."

The deposed leader, Sukarno, was characterized by the *Reader's Digest* as a devious manipulator, a demagogue, lover of luxury and womanizer who had sold his country to communism. The new military strongman, General Suharto, was thoughtful, serious, capable, serene.

The *Reader's Digest* versions of the military coups in Brazil and Indonesia are interchangeable. A nationalist head of state implausibly arranges a communist coup against himself. At the last minute, this plot is uncovered by a pro-U.S. general who uses it as a pretext to seize power himself.

The Brazilian version reads, "Some of the captured documents reveal that the red plot to capture total power was fixed on May 1."¹³

In 1954 Guatemala was an archetypical "banana republic." Guatemala had always been run by *La Frutera*, the United Fruit Company. Then Jacobo Arbenz was elected and found himself under strong domestic pressure to implement an agrarian reform promised by his predecessor. Some of the nationalized land belonged to United Fruit. United Fruit called its lawyers, Sullivan and Cromwell, where CIA Director Allen Dulles was a senior partner.

The CIA plan, Operation Success, consisted of organizing a small invasion force under Col. Castillo Armas, coordinated with a blustering psychological warfare campaign designed to exaggerate the size of the invading force.

This is not quite the *Reader's Digest* version: "Como Fracaso el Kremlin en Guatemala," cried *Selecciones* in March 1955. The President is described as a demagogue, a thief, an assassin, and an alcoholic who sold out his country to communism. The agrarian reform of Arbenz was a fraud. This was being "proved" by AIFLD, virtually a CIA proprietary,¹⁴ which had embarked on an international publicity campaign on behalf of the new regime. The "liberator," Castillo Armas, had acted just in time to stop a communist plot to smuggle weapons into the country, arm the peasants, and submit the country to terror.

Cratology

In the photoanalysis division at the CIA there are specialists called cratologists. These are the gnomes who start with a satellite photo of crated weapons being loaded on Soviet ships and try to determine the contents by the dimension of the crate.

Cratology became so popular at the CIA that it infected the propagandists and soon no CIA story was complete without the obligatory communist crate full of communist weapons.

In 1963 some Cuban crates were conveniently found on a Venezuelan beach immediately before elections in which the left was expected to win and also before a meeting of the OAS at which the U.S. was seeking a vote to isolate Cuba.

According to the former head of the CIA's worldwide propaganda desk, Joseph Burkholder Smith, "While I was in Argentina the most interesting thing we had to do regarding Castro was to drum up support on the part of the Argentine government for the Venezuelan charge that Castro was supplying guerrillas in Venezuela with arms."¹⁵

13. *Selecciones*, December 1964.

14. AIFLD figures prominently in Philip Agee's *Inside the Company*, op. cit., n. 7. See also, Fred Hirsch and Richard Fletcher, *CIA and the Labour Movement* (London: Spokesman Books, 1977).

15. Interview in film, "On Company Business."

An October 1965 *Selecciones* article by Kenneth Gilmore connected the Cuban crates to "Plan Caracas," an alleged communist plan to seize Caracas and overthrow the Venezuelan government in order to prevent the free elections of December 1963.

Selecciones went on to connect the communist plot in Venezuela to a communist plot in Brazil and the 77 communists behind the uprising in the Dominican Republic (1965). Apparently the U.S.-instigated OAS vote to isolate Cuba would have been unanimous were it not for the holdout of Brazil and Chile. The author tells us that first Brazil and then Chile (after the April 1964 Brazilian coup and the September 1964 Chilean elections of CIA candidate Eduardo Frei) were brought around and joined in the final, unanimous vote against Cuba, taken on July 26 (the anniversary of the Cuban revolution).

Propaganda Quotas

Now, apart from the monotonous regularity of these fake stories, their inherent implausibility, and the purple prose, there is no doubt whatever that these *Reader's Digest* stories are CIA plants. By now all the CIA officers involved have written their memoirs and there is no ambiguity any more about exactly what the CIA was doing in those countries at that time and what cover stories the CIA was spreading to hide their role.

What identifies the above stories as CIA "black" propaganda, as distinct from conservative anticommunist propaganda are: character assassination of the deposed leader, denial of a known U.S. role, fabricated communist assassination lists, puff pieces about the CIA's man as a native patriot.

Identifying CIA propaganda activities is like figuring out how a nuclear bomb works—if you are willing to spend the time studying enough open sources, it can be done. One must figure out the names of the top CIA media agents, the media outlets' themes, and the methodology. Years of such research, and reading every political article in the *Reader's Digest* since 1940, leads this author to the conclusion that the *Digest* has carried a fairly consistent quota of two propaganda articles per issue, but only two a year which are "black" propaganda.

There were established standards for the selection of material to be used in *Reader's Digest*: The article should inspire, include humor, be relevant to the life of the reader, and each issue should include a balance of different kinds of articles. The principal criterion for *Digest* founder De Witt Wallace was that an article be "of lasting interest" (which gave rise to the title of a 1958 authorized history, *Of Lasting Interest, The Story of the Reader's Digest*).

What distinguishes the new breed of *Reader's Digest* editors is their abandonment of the Wallace legacy, the rejection of the above standards, in favor of a fixation on negative, lurid, sensational CIA fabrications. This new breed includes David Reed, John Barron, Nathan Adams, Kenneth Tomlinson, and Eugene Methvin.

John Barron and Eugene Methvin are protégés of Kenneth Gilmore, former Washington bureau chief, now editor-in-

chief and Director of the Reader's Digest Association, Inc.

Barron and Methvin had worked at the *Washington Star* with Jeremiah O'Leary, from whom they picked up the habit of attaching their names to CIA handouts. In the *Rolling Stone* exposé, senior officials at the CIA described O'Leary as a career CIA media agent who shared intelligence with the CIA, planted CIA propaganda, and even recruited other agents.

Since 1965, Eugene Methvin has been a member of the DC bureau of *Reader's Digest*. At the time the CIA was involved in Operation Chaos to discredit antiwar movements on college campuses, Methvin specialized in articles of this type.

In 1966 he wrote two articles of similar content, "How the Reds Make a Riot" and "Behind Campus Demonstrations," which the *Digest* claimed was based on "four years of research." Can anyone seriously believe that it took Methvin four years to come up with the idea that communists were behind the campus antiwar demonstrations, any more than it took Barron several years to conclude that the communists were behind the nuclear freeze movement?

In October 1966 Methvin did a puff piece in the *Digest* on AIFLD, one of the best known CIA proprietaries. Methvin decided the 1968 Democratic National Convention would be a good time to recycle his communist plot behind antiwar demonstrations, retitled "Engineers of Campus Chaos."¹⁶

In 1970, Methvin collected his *Reader's Digest* articles on the communist menace on our campuses and called it a book: *The Riot Makers: The Technology of Social Demolition*.¹⁷ Special thanks are given in the introduction to Paul Linebarger, William Kintner, and Stefan Possony.

Paul Linebarger was the Godfather of CIA media operations. He trained the first generation of cold warriors in the dark arts of black propaganda. William Kintner is one of those senior CIA officials who have capitalized on the association after leaving the Agency. Stefan Possony is director of the Hoover Institution and has the same relationship to Methvin as Brian Crozier to Robert Moss or Claire Sterling to Michael Ledeen.

Kintner and Possony published the magazine *Orbis* which gave Methvin his first break, and which in 1967 was revealed by the *New York Times* to be funded by the CIA.¹⁸

16. In *The Search for the Manchurian Candidate: The CIA and Mind Control* (New York: Times Books, 1979), John Marks demonstrated that campus-based experiments by the CIA on synthetic mescaline and LSD had a greater effect on the counterculture of the 1960s than the "communist conspiracy." Speaking of LSD, perhaps someone slipped some to Methvin before his February 19, 1969 speech to the Georgia Press Institute at the University of Georgia, "Changing News Values in the Megamind Era."

"He [Marshall McLuhan] foresees a computer-directed network of 'global thermostats' to pattern programming of the sensory life of whole populations.

"When the global thermostats, informed by a variety of Gallup Poll-type samples, senses dangerous moods threatening whatever values he is programmed to protect.

"Truly if the atomic era of megaton bombs is too important to be left to the generals, journalism is too important to be left to journalists."

Methvin's ideal future is an Orwellian world of technological thought control.

17. Arlington House, 1970.

18. *New York Times*, February 19, 1967.

Nathan Adams was a correspondent for *Sports Illustrated* and specialized in such populist schlock as vanishing hitchhikers before joining the clique at the Washington bureau of *Reader's Digest*. Suddenly, he was attaching his name to a *Reader's Digest* claim that the Cuban government was smuggling drugs into the U.S. as part of a plot to destabilize the West. This story began as a VOA campaign and was repeated by such established CIA conduits as Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave in well-known disinformation outlets such as the Moonies' *Washington Times*.

Kenneth Tomlinson of the *Reader's Digest* Washington Bureau was appointed by Reagan to head the Voice of America.

The Godfather of the Washington media mafia is Kenneth Gilmore, who personally supervised and edited Barron's KGB books. No mean slouch himself, Gilmore wrote a book on how the KGB took over Cuba.

The Kidnapped Kids of the KGB

In a recent speech before the prestigious Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, Gilmore said: "I am proud to tell you that John Barron, one of our most seasoned writers, and author of two books on the KGB, had written about Afghanistan in our August and November issues. One article tells how the Soviets took a nine-year-old boy away from his family and trained him in Russia to be a terrorist."

Barron's nine-year-old Afghan terrorist turns out in the *Reader's Digest* tale to be only one of a group of 1,000 children kidnapped in Afghanistan and sent to KGB concentration camps in the Soviet Union. They "receive intensive training in the Soviet Union on espionage, sabotage, and assassination. The transformation of a child into a Soviet robot, programmed to kill..." The KGB applauded the terrorist tyke for drinking vodka and sent him home to blow up his friends with bombs disguised as toys.

Whether by coincidence or not, the same month there appeared a review in the *New Leader* of an Israeli book, *Breaking From the KGB*, which "solves" the mystery of the missing kids: They have been kidnapped by the KGB. The author "claims to have visited a school in Moscow that indoctrinated children kidnapped from the West, and then returned to their native lands as Communist infiltrators." That the author,



Eugene Methvin, promoter of the communist menace on campus.

Maurice Shainberg, emigrated from Russia in 1957 should in no way detract from his fascinating tale. The *New Leader* was revealed to be a creation of the CIA by *Ramparts* in 1967.

Barron's Rise

Nothing much was known about the CIA before the *Ramparts* exposé, which detailed the CIA's infiltration of the National Student Association. This led to a major congressional investigation and restrictions on CIA recruitment in universities and charitable or cultural organizations, CIA domestic spying, and CIA use of the Peace Corps.

At this time Gilmore became head of the *Reader's Digest* Washington bureau and gave Barron a blank check to get the KGB. It marks the first time that the *Reader's Digest* committed the resources of its 16 foreign bureaus to a joint research effort. Previously, a local *Reader's Digest* office's research staff would simply devote itself to checking the facts on a story the New York office was considering reprinting. The plan, for a book by Barron, was approved in 1967, and installments began appearing in the *Digest* by 1970. It claims these articles are among the most popular pamphlets circulated clandestinely inside the Soviet Union. *Reader's Digest* Press finally published *KGB* just as a new scandal — and congressional investigations — were enveloping the CIA in 1974.

Barron served in Naval Intelligence; while in Berlin his title was Officer in Charge of Clandestine Operations. At the *Washington Star*, he was one of a group of writers who attached their names to CIA handouts. *KGB* is based on interviews with Soviet defectors made available to Barron by the CIA. The *New York Times* said that the CIA had an "operational purpose" in assisting Barron.¹⁹

The Kennedy Assassination

One of the most damaging Congressional CIA investigations involved assassination plots. Several committees announced they would take a new look at the Kennedy assassination.

The *Reader's Digest* set out to find a right-wing critic of the Warren Commission. They picked Edward Jay Epstein because he was the only one who did not blame the U.S. intelligence agencies for cover-up or conspiracy in the Kennedy assassination. In fact, Epstein had just written a book critical of New Orleans District Attorney (now Judge) Jim Garrison for pointing the finger at the CIA. The project to pin the Kennedy assassination on the KGB won the warm endorsement of *Reader's Digest* Paris chief John Panitza.

Epstein got a \$500,000 advance and, like Barron, the worldwide resources of the *Digest*. After three years, the *Digest* found little more than the paranoid fantasies of fired CIA counterintelligence chief James Angleton. The title of Epstein's book, *Legend*,²⁰ reflects Angleton's view that everything we thought we knew about Lee Harvey Oswald was just a clever cover story or "legend" invented for him by the KGB.

19. See the three-part *New York Times* series by John Crewdson, December 25, 26, and 27, 1977, exposing CIA media operations.

20 Edward Jay Epstein, *Legend: The Secret World of Lee Harvey Oswald* (New York: Ballantine, 1979).

More CIA Ties

In 1975, the author interviewed Sam Jaffe, Jr., son of the actor, and former CBS correspondent in Moscow. Jaffe was a gold mine. He had regular conversations with James Angleton, of which he kept copious notes. Apparently Angleton had come to befriend Jaffe because of his conviction that he was the target of a KGB defamation attempt. A Soviet defector, Yuri Nosenko, interrogated ruthlessly by Angleton, hinted that Jaffe was a KGB agent. Since Angleton was convinced that Nosenko was a KGB double agent sent to sow disinformation and confusion, Jaffe thus had to be okay.

Jaffe had compiled files on CIA-media ties, including the *Reader's Digest*. In addition to the *Digest's* backing two books, *Legend* and *KGB*, which took Agency positions, Jaffe thought it was strange that a magazine relying mostly on reprints needed to staff 16 offices throughout the world. He thought that there was an institutional relationship between the *Digest* and the CIA, but he thought it was primarily in the area of espionage, rather than propaganda. He suspected that much of what looked like CIA propaganda at the *Digest* was more a matter of disgruntled former CIA agents getting the ear of ideologically kindred spirits.

There are, in fact, four areas of intelligence gathering engaged in by the *Reader's Digest* which would not seem to be needed by a print medium relying on reprints: photography, research for articles which are never printed, market research and polls, and special projects on intelligence matters.

A Finnish newspaper once accused a *Digest* employee of being a CIA agent because he was taking photographs of copper mines. The *Reader's Digest* seems to have a great interest in copper mines in socialist countries. When Chile had a socialist government, the *Digest* sent Fred Dickenson to remote areas to study industrial accidents in Chilean copper mines. The *Digest* never shared the result of this study with the public. Soon after, the CIA organized the copper workers to go on strike against the workers' government, a classic example of psychological warfare.

The *Reader's Digest* conducts polls all over the world, the result of which are not made public. While there may be an innocuous explanation for this, a common feature of several CIA covert operations the author studied (Chile, Italy, Jamaica, and Nicaragua), was the commissioning of private polls by the U.S. Embassy. Indeed, if one examines the topics of recent *Digest* special research projects, involving all foreign bureaus, they all involve intelligence matters.

Other Examples

Whether the *Digest* is a straightforward propaganda outlet for the CIA or the relationship is more one of ideological consensus can be understood by considering three analogous examples: *El Mercurio*, Copley News, and Time-Life. An excellent case could be made that Agustin Edwards, owner of *El Mercurio*, used his influence with Richard Nixon to force the CIA to intervene in Chile to secure his economic interests. At the same time, the CIA had 20 agents at *El Mercurio* and planted several stories a day for three years.

The deal to allow the CIA to take over the Latin American operations of Copley News Service was made in a 1952 meeting between President Eisenhower and Ira Copley. Friendly Republicans helped Copley secure a news monopoly in San Diego, and the CIA at one time had as many as 30 agents at Copley.

According to a series on CIA-media relations in the *Atlanta Journal*, during the 1950s and the 1960s Time-Life had the backing of the CIA "and some CIA watchers now see the *Reader's Digest* gradually achieving that 'most favored' status granted by the CIA."²¹

Conclusion

In 1976 the CIA endured its greatest crisis, a series of highly critical reports by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The Association of Retired Intelligence Agents (now the Association of Former Intelligence Officers) was formed to lobby Congress with the message that the KGB does the same or worse. The *Digest* came out with a new installment of *KGB* by Barron, an anonymous article on the "KGB in Asia," and, in 1978, *Legend*, or how Lee Harvey Oswald was really a Manchurian Candidate. In October 1979 the *Reader's Digest* issued its blueprint for rebuilding the CIA, which it claimed was the result of a year long research effort.

According to the Director of Public Relations, Bruce Traktenberg, all the big projects, such as *Legend*, *KGB*, and Claire Sterling's Bulgarian Connection fantasies were funded by Reader's Digest Press. The three book divisions accounted for 44 percent of profits, while the magazine itself only brought in 36 percent.

But getting people at the *Digest* to talk about the now defunct Reader's Digest Press is like asking the producers of the movie "Ishtar" where the \$43 million went. According to Traktenberg, many Reader's Digest Press projects were so far out that even *Reader's Digest* magazine would not print them. But now, according to William Schulz, of the *Reader's Digest* Washington bureau, the magazine has taken over many of the functions of Reader's Digest Press. The common denominator seems to be John Barron, who has found himself a comfortable niche. Once a year he comes out with a bogus exposé of the KGB; every four years he collects them into what he chooses to call a book, a new edition of *KGB*. Barron then decides the book should be a *Reader's Digest* book club selection and a *Reader's Digest* condensed book.

A reviewer of Barron's first installment of *KGB* noted:

Barron would have done better had he resisted the temptations to guild the lily, to provide factual details without first checking their accuracy, and to indulge his penchant for the lurid, sinister and erotic.²²

That is as good as any description of the accuracy and value of the political propaganda in the *Reader's Digest*. ●

21. *Atlanta Journal*, June 5, 1983.

22. *Book Review Digest*, 1979.

History Repeats Itself:

The Cold War in Tibet

By Hugh Deane*

It's no secret that the Nicaragua *contras* were organized, funded and managed by the CIA. CIA operatives have even fought alongside the *contras*. This obviously is not the first time the CIA has used a proxy army; in fact the concept of CIA-organized counterrevolutionaries dates back to the beginnings of the organization.

In 1942 the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the predecessor to the CIA, sent two agents into Tibet—Ilya Tolstoy, emigré grandson of Leo Tolstoy, and Brooke Dolan, another professional adventurer. Their principal mission was to search out transportation links between India and Yunnan and Sichuan provinces that would at least partially offset the loss of the Burma Road, severed by the Japanese. Their task also was to win high-level friendships in an area which OSS chief William J. Donovan predicted "will be strategically valuable in the future." He supported the opening of radio communication with Lhasa.

The Tibetan leadership also had agents. When Tolstoy and Dolan reported to the American Embassy in Chongqing they made clear they had been won over to the view that the United States should support Tibetan aspirations for independence from China. The Chinese Foreign Ministry officially complained.

Returning from a stay in Lhasa in 1949, journalist Lowell Thomas and his son Lowell Thomas, Jr. urged that "modern weapons and advisers to instruct in their use" be sent to Tibet. After an interview with President Truman they transmitted confidentially to the *kashg* (Tibetan government) his "hope to organize the moral forces of the world against the immoral." They also passed on a proposal by Secretary of State Dean Acheson that a high American official enter Tibet disguised as "merely another traveler" to investigate the possibility of a "definite program of support." The mellifluous voice of Lowell Thomas on the radio won converts to the cause of an independent Tibet.¹

In 1950, as the integration of Tibet into the People's Republic of China neared realization, the Dalai Lama sent one of his brothers to India to appeal, through private channels, to Truman for help.

According to John F. Avedon, an American associate of the Dalai Lama, "surprisingly, America agreed.... For its part, the United States pledged to support [the Dalai Lama] and his government abroad, reintroduce Tibet's cause in the United Nations, and finance its struggle against China, including, if it developed, a military option." But the "plan never ripened."²

CIA Proxies

The CIA, operating in Taiwan under the cover name of Western Enterprises, Inc., teamed up with Kuomintang units in carrying out intelligence-gathering and sabotage raids on the mainland through the 1950s. Quemoy was the usual jumping off point for the midget subs and landing craft. CIA agents were infiltrated into China but all or most were rounded up. Later regular overflights of China by U-2 and other planes and drones made use of agents on the ground unnecessary.

Tibet became the main target of opportunity. In 1951, with the cooperation of Gyale Thondup, second eldest brother of the Dalai Lama who had left Lhasa for Darjeeling in India, the CIA began setting up an intelligence net. A small number of Tibetans were assembled in Pakistan and taken to Guam or Okinawa for training in guerrilla warfare and clandestine operations.

In 1955 a leading CIA operative, posing as a tourist, conferred with Tibetans in the Himalayan village of Kalimpong, near Darjeeling. According to George N. Patterson, a Scottish missionary who interpreted, the American outlined a ten-year program designed to overthrow the Chinese in Tibet after five. He said the cooperation of India was essential.³

In 1956-57 the smoldering resistance to Chinese authority in Amdo (now Qinghai) and the southeastern areas of Tibet inhabited by the Khampas flared into violence. Armed bands linked in an organization named Four Rivers, Six Ranges (an old name for Amdo and Kham), ambushed convoys on the just-constructed east-west roads, and clashed with China's People's Liberation Army (PLA). Lamas in several monasteries gave the uprising religious fervor and themselves took up arms. In 1958 fighting spread to parts of central Tibet.

The CIA got involved swiftly, using planes based in Thailand to drop small arms and other supplies to rebel for-

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1. Israel Epstein, *Tibet Transformed* (Beijing: New World Press, 1983), p. 476.

2. John F. Avedon, *In Exile from the Land of Snows* (New York: Knopf, 1984), p. 36.

3. John Prados, *Presidents' Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations Since World War II* (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1986), pp. 149-150.

ces. The intelligence net was expanded and more Tibetan *contras* were given short training courses and dropped into the mountains. Two Tibetan agents were placed near Lhasa and they were able to confer with aides of the Dalai Lama in the Norbuy Lingka, the summer palace. In the U.S., the American Society for a Free Asia, a CIA front, propagandized the cause of Tibetan resistance.

In June 1958, a rebel force of about 5,000 called the Tensung Tabgla Magar (National Volunteer Defense Army) was formed within a hundred miles of Lhasa and counted on the embrace of the CIA. But the Ando Khampa *contras* suffered setbacks as the PLA secured the roads. In March 1959, the ineptly-timed and weakly-organized rebellion in Lhasa itself was crushed after three days of bloody fighting. Many lamas and lay members of the elite and much of the Tibetan army joined the uprising, but in the main the populace did not, assuring its failure.⁴

The Dalai Lama fled Lhasa on the eve of the rebellion, and with CIA assistance reached India. A CIA radio operator attached to the party arranged for the dropping of crucially needed supplies. In the judgment of Colonel Fletcher Prouty of the CIA, "The Dalai Lama would never have been saved without the CIA."⁵

The expanding CIA role must have encouraged the aides and supporters of the Dalai Lama who decided to risk the March rebellion, and the suppression of it brought on stepped-up CIA activities. The appraisal was that at least initially the People's Republic could be seriously harassed and better planning and substantial material aid could coalesce the surviving *contra* groups within Tibet and bring Tibetans in exile into the struggle.⁶

Contra Supply Lines

As additional PLA troops moved into Tibet, CIA-directed planes bombed sites along the two principal highways with the aim of starting landslides. The calculation was that a major slide would hold up PLA convoys for weeks. Two Canadian officers familiar with the terrain selected the targets. But the results appear to have been negligible.

The dropping of supplies and agents from the air increased enormously, especially after the introduction of the C-120s which could land anywhere in Tibet and thus pick up agents. Fletcher Prouty, in a position to give an informed estimate later wrote that more than 14,000 Tibetans were armed, equipped and fed by the Agency.

4. George Ginsburgs and Michael Mathos conclude in their book *Communist China and Tibet* (The Hague: 1964), on page 118, that "The Tibetan insurgents never succeeded in mustering into their ranks even a large fraction of the population at hand, to say nothing of a majority. As far as can be ascertained, the great bulk of the common people of Lhasa and of the adjoining countryside failed to join in the fighting against the Chinese both when it first began and as it progressed." Bina Roy Burman in his book *Religion and Politics in Tibet* reached a similar conclusion.

5. L. Fletcher Prouty, *The Secret Team: The CIA and Its Allies in Control of the United States and the World* (New York: Ballentine, 1973), p. 395. A conversation with Prouty was very helpful.

6. A State Department estimate in the summer of 1959 was that "the Chinese Communists probably have the capability of preventing prolonged rebellion, except in the most isolated areas."

In April 1959, the CIA launched an ambitious training project. A training compound in Saipan was first planned but the climate of that Pacific island was uncomfortable for Tibetan mountain people. Camp Hale, high up in the Rocky Mountains, 18 miles north of Leadville, Colorado, was the final choice. Ski troops had been trained there in World War II. Some 500 Tibetans were supposed to be trained but less than 200—170 by one count—had graduated by the time the program was halted.

The earliest recruits, who arrived packed in a C-124 Globemaster, were invariably chiefs or the sons of chiefs but with the expansion eligibility requirements were broadened. The Tibetans, Khampas most of them, were trained in small arms (M-1s, mortars, bazookas, revolvers with silencers), radio communication (each was provided with a powerful hand-sized radio), use of explosives, survival techniques, map



Credit: Official Department of Defense Photo

Camp Hale, training grounds for Tibetan *contras*.

reading, coding, precautions in contacting agents and behavior under hostile interrogation. Training exercises included the killing of deer on the run and living off raw meat for a week. The CIA instructors were spared the necessity of learning Tibetan names. Simple American first names were imprinted on identification badges.

The CIA set up a subsidiary, Intermountain Aviation, as the air arm of the Camp Hale project. Graduates were parachuted into Tibet or assigned to tasks in India or Nepal.

Security was nearly breached when a busload of Tibetans ran into a ditch during a snowstorm. Civilian employees of Peterson Airbase at Colorado Springs were held at gun point until sworn to secrecy after they caught sight of the Asians. Through a leak in a Colorado newspaper the "New York Times" got wind of the incident. Its Washington bureau inquired at the Pentagon and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was soon on the phone asking that the story be killed. The "Times" complied.

A trainee one day found himself alone while sweeping a normally guarded office at Camp Hale. Years later he told

John Avedon that, "Looking behind large white sheets that covered a wall in the main room, he discovered a detailed map of Tibet. All across it red pins marked the location of agents."⁷

Mustang Valley

Selected Camp Hale trainees were assigned to a CIA army assembled in Mustang Valley in Nepal on the Tibetan frontier. A Nepalese vassal state, the area was the home of a Tibetan minority and could be reached only with difficulty from Katmandu, the capital. To handle the logistics, the CIA established Air Nepal and set up a fake AID (Agency for International Development) project in Nepal. Twenty-six buildings, including a four-story headquarters, were constructed. A brother of the Dalai Lama was the paymaster and distributor of CIA largess. In one of the raids into Tibet the CIA army wiped out a small PLA convoy and captured several sacks of classified documents, but most penetration achieved little or nothing.

The Tibetan force in the Mustang Valley was a secret part



Credit: George Patterson

Contras from Mustang Valley on their way to Tibet.

of the Indian army. The CIA and the Research and Analysis Wing of Indian intelligence created the force in 1962. Called Special Frontier Force (code-named Establishment 22), it gained a peak strength of 10,500. CIA instructors provided parachute and other specialized training, but the CIA role diminished after they experienced logistical problems and differences with Indian officers and with the American ambassador, John Kenneth Galbraith.

The shooting down of Gary Francis Powers' U-2 in the Soviet Union on May 1, 1960 not only torpedoed the Eisenhower-Khrushchev summit but had a severely limiting effect on the CIA's air drop operations. In advance of the summit, President Eisenhower had directed that overflights everywhere cease but his order was not heeded by those in the CIA handling U-2 flights over Russia. Eisenhower's response after the international embarrassment was to forcefully restrict overflights and the supplying of Tibetan contras fell off drastically. Deprived of help from the skies and with in-

adequate support from the Tibetan population, the rebel bands in the mountains shriveled and disintegrated. It was "a military disaster," according to one CIA account.⁸

Briefed on the extensive CIA activities in India, Nepal and Tibet following his appointment as ambassador to India by the Kennedy administration, Galbraith was appalled. To him the Mustang Valley army was a "particularly insane enterprise." He tried to put an end to it but failed.⁹ Kept going through the 1960s, the operation was increasingly beset with command rivalries, charges of embezzlement, equipment shortages and defections.

In October-November 1962, the Indian army suffered humiliating defeats when it tried some land grabbing across the Tibetan border—the Aksai region in the west where the Chinese had built a road linking it with Xinjiang and a mountainous pocket to the east. The Special Frontier Force of Tibetan exiles was expected to remedy the revealed weakness. It scouted the border and established a string of Indian bases. And, according to Avedon, "New Delhi secretly decided that, in the event of war, an attempt to wrest Tibet's liberty could be made, 22 taking the lead."¹⁰ In reality, 22 was never a serious threat to Tibetan security. It was sent into battle against Pakistan at the time of the Bangladesh breakaway. A force of "freedom fighters," the Indian Press called it. Indira Gandhi planned to use 22 to crush opposition riots and uprisings and kept an aircraft on alert at a 22 base to fly her to Mauritius in the event she had to flee the country.

In 1974 the Nepalese army, strengthened with a contingent of Gurkhas, moved into the valley and broke up the remnants. Gyalo Wangdu, the last survivor of the first group trained in Colorado, was killed.

Its interest in Tibet dwindling, the CIA undertook what turned out to be its last major intervention into Chinese affairs. Using captured Cultural Revolution documents and with the help of defectors and Taiwan Chinese, it forged leaflets and declarations designed to intensify Cultural Revolution factionalism. It began the effort late in 1967 when factionalism momentarily appeared to be dying down. Balloon drops and other means of delivering the forgeries were supplemented by broadcasts from a clandestine Taiwan radio. A few defectors had copies of the fabrications with them when they arrived in Hong Kong but how effective they were in setting off one group against another is uncertain.

The CIA's private army in Tibet and the *contras* in Nicaragua have several things in common. Both are ineffective, lack popular support and have only brought death and destruction to two underdeveloped countries. Forty years after its first failure in Tibet the CIA continues to fund and organize *contra* armies around the world. ●

8. Nine out of ten agents dropped into Tibet were never heard from again, one CIA review states. Israel Epstein observes that the PLA garrisons were dispersed and that many agents were rounded up by the Tibetans themselves. *Op. cit.*, pp. 224-25.

9. Galbraith did succeed in quashing CIA plans to spend millions on influencing Indian elections, corrupting politicians and financing anti-Communist publications.

10. *Op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 129.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

News Notes

by Louis Wolf

FBI and CIA Surveil the Gorbachevs

All the pomp and ceremony the White House could muster to impress Mikhail Gorbachev was just a fraction of the entire picture. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency were ordered to exploit his presence in Washington and blanket him and his party with surveillance totally unrelated to protecting them.

In a major news scoop largely unnoticed by other media, United Press International reported December 10 that U.S. intelligence left no stone unturned in focusing its multifaceted resources upon the Soviet leader during his four-day visit. A CIA source justified the effort telling UPI that the visit "offers an unparalleled opportunity to learn about him." Neither the objective of the surveillance or the means used were quite so innocuous.

- The FBI planted "dozens" of agents who posed at the fashionable Madison Hotel as security guards, bellhops, waiters, interpreters, and other personnel "to observe the every move" of Gorbachev and his accompanying party.
- Lip-readers who underwent months of training for the assignment were watching him closely, even as other Bureau *poseurs* were covertly filming Gorbachev and other senior officials, using waist cameras installed inside of belt buckles. Now, after Gorbachev's departure, the lip-readers are also tasked to scrutinize the long hours of secret film to determine what he may have said which wasn't already known to the U.S.
- The FBI had emplaced powerful high-tech shotgun microphones in every room in Washington where Gorbachev and his aides were during the visit. The paraphernalia is so sensitive, UPI's intelligence sources said, that they could "extract Gorbachev's voice from the sound of an exploding (ammunition) factory."
- Psychiatrists working in the FBI Domestic Intelligence Division were positioned to closely observe Gorbachev's "body language," hoping to deduce "how he thinks and makes decisions."

The Soviet leader was not the only target of this "special" surveillance. *CAIB* has learned that Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, had an entire detail of U.S. intelligence personnel similarly assigned to "cover" her.

If historical precedent means anything, the government may have stooped to even more exotic enterprises. In June 1973, when Leonid Brezhnev came to the United States at Richard Nixon's invitation, he was housed several days at the presidential retreat, Camp David. It was there that American intelligence technicians installed some very unusual plumbing enabling them to divert all of Brezhnev's urine and defecatory matter to a separate repository, from which it was removed and taken for laboratory analysis.

This time, perhaps the lesson was not lost on the Soviets. While their delegation stayed at the Madison Hotel, the Gorbachevs slept at the Soviet Embassy.

New CIA Operations Director and New NSC Deputy Both Expert in Covert Action

The December 8, 1987 appointment by Director of Central Intelligence William Webster of Richard Faur's Stolz, Jr. as the new CIA Deputy Director for Operations spotlights the continued importance of covert operations as a cornerstone of the Reagan administration's foreign policy.

The choice of Stolz for one of the most important positions in the U.S. government is especially noteworthy, particularly as he takes up where his predecessor, Clair E. George, who was centrally involved in the now legendary Iran-*contra* dealings, left off. Stolz has been employed by the CIA since 1950, and has worked under diplomatic cover in West Germany (1959), Bulgaria (1960-62), the U.S.S.R. (1964-65), Italy (1966-69), and Yugoslavia (1973-74). Between 1974-79, he was head of CIA operations in the Agency's Soviet and European divisions. From 1979-81, he was CIA Chief of Station in the United Kingdom. Finally, according to the CIA, he was since 1981 a part-time "consultant to the national security community." (*Washington Post*, December 9, 1987)

In view of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting and what both nations hope for in terms of improved bilateral relations, Stolz's long experience overseeing covert operations against the Soviets is especially significant. It is ironic that Webster made the announcement on the very day the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed the INF treaty. Stolz was declared *persona non grata* by the Soviets in January 1965, and sent home to CIA headquarters.

Just three weeks earlier, on November 18, the administration very quietly brought in to the White House as the new Deputy National Security Advisor one of the most controversial and hardline figures yet seen during the Reagan era, the British-born John D. Negroponte.

It is no secret that during his 1981-85 ambassadorship in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, he directed an abrupt and massive expansion of military and CIA presence in the country, primarily as the backstop for Washington's "covert" war against Nicaragua. A Western diplomat told *Time* (April 4, 1983), "I'm not saying that the guy who gives all the orders here even for [CIA] covert ops [operations], is Negroponte. . . but that guy wears Negroponte's suits and eats his breakfast. Do you get the picture?"

Before his arrival, there were under 15 Foreign Service officers at the Embassy and a team of 21 military "advisors." By his departure there were reportedly over 300 CIA operatives in Tegucigalpa, some under cover as AID officers and Delta Force anti-terrorist troops (see *CAIB* Numbers 18 and 22). He directed the permanent stationing of an average of 2,500 U.S. military forces and, between 1981-85, more than 50,000 military and Reserve personnel had passed through Honduras in so-called 'joint exercises,' turning the country into what some have called "Washington's unsinkable aircraft carrier."

Known to his State Department co-workers as ideologically zealous, personally brusque, and intensely ambitious, he appears to be the handpicked successor to Oliver North. •

Origin and Spread of AIDS: Is the West Responsible? (Conclusion)

By Robert Lederer*

This concludes the article which commenced in the last issue of CAIB, Number 28 (Summer 1987), posing the question whether AIDS, which strikes such particular populations, is a natural or a human-made disease. It analyzed the "official" theory of the cause of AIDS: HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) derived from monkeys; and three alternative theories: HIV genetically engineered by the U.S. government in chemical-biological warfare (CBW) research; dioxin, the contaminant in Agent Orange; and maguari and dengue, two insect-borne tropical viruses. The sections which follow review two other theories: African Swine Fever virus and multiple factors (no single microbe) Part II then analyzes various proposed co-factors which either spread the causative microbe or make individuals more vulnerable to developing AIDS, once exposed.

Alternative Theory #4: African Swine Fever Virus

For several years, a team of Boston scientists, pathobiologist⁵⁷ Jane Teas (formerly of the Harvard School of Public Health) and microbiologist John Beldekas (formerly of Boston University Medical School), have pursued the theory that AIDS may be caused by African Swine Fever Virus (ASFV). African Swine Fever (ASF), a disease of pigs not limited to Africa, causes symptoms quite similar to those of AIDS.⁵⁸ No effective preventive or treatment measures have been found for ASF. Both diseases "can be spread through exposure to infected blood, blood products, and semen, and ASFV can be transmitted via bites from infected ticks."⁵⁹ A possible insect role in the spread of AIDS is coming under in-

creasing scientific scrutiny.⁶⁰

Establishment scientists have never recognized the possibility of ASF's transmission from pigs to people. Yet Teas and Beldekas say that several Latin American, Caribbean, and central African countries experienced a major AIDS outbreak within one and a half to two years after an ASF epidemic. Could AIDS have spread from pigs to humans by the consumption of ASF-infected pork or by insect-borne ASFV?

In 1983, Teas first advanced her hypothesis of "the accidental introduction of ASFV into the human population" of Haiti, in the British medical journal, *Lancet*:

Perhaps an infected pig was killed and eaten either as uncooked or undercooked meat.... As the virus is stable in blood, urine and faeces, it might be then transmitted [from person to person] via traumatic sexual practices. Among pigs ASFV is most easily transmitted in stressed populations. Humans with concurrent viral infections or who are in other ways physiologically stressed appear to be the most vulnerable to AIDS. Certainly blood transfusions would be an ideal mode of transmission.⁶¹

Teas speculated that AIDS might have spread to vacationing North American gay men through sex with Haitian male prostitutes. Later, Teas was joined by Beldekas, and further research led them to broaden the theory to include insect transmission and the ASF/AIDS connection throughout the Third World.⁶²

History of ASF

ASF was first recognized in Kenya in 1909 when European settlers noticed large losses in the herds they had brought. Since then, several central African and European nations have experienced outbreaks. The only known method of stopping an ASF epidemic is exterminating the entire pig population—both diseased and healthy—in the affected area.

ASF was unknown in the Western Hemisphere until 1971, when it attacked pigs in Cuba. The Cuban government slaughtered the entire hog population of Havana province—some 460,000—and the epidemic was stopped. In June 1978,

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The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of the theorists quoted herein, and of the following: Andrew Kimbrell of the Foundation on Economic Trends, Washington, DC; Hank Wilson of the Committee to Monitor Poppers, San Francisco, CA; Dana Ullman of the Homeopathy Research Center, San Francisco, CA; Charley Shively of *Gay Community News*, Boston, MA; Carletta Walker of WBAI-FM radio, New York, NY; Martin Lee of Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, New York, NY; and Jim Kemp of *The Guardian*, New York, NY.

57. Pathobiology is the study of diseases in human populations.

58. The parallel symptoms include initial fever, loss of appetite, swollen lymph glands, and particularly, the appearance of skin lesions and immune suppression of T-cells. John Beldekas, Jane Teas, James R. Hebert, "African Swine Fever Virus and AIDS," *Lancet*, March 8, 1986, p. 564. See also William R. Hess, "African Swine Fever: A Reassessment," *Advances in Veterinary Science and Comparative Medicine*, Vol. 25 (1981), pp. 39-67.

59. Beldekas, et al., op. cit., n. 58. ASFV has been found to survive in ticks long after an eradication program usually kills most pig virus carriers. Studies have shown the tick can continue infecting pigs for up to eight years. E.P.J. Gibbs, "African Swine Fever—An Assessment of Risk for Florida," *Journal of the American Veterinary Medicine Association*, Vol. 184, No. 6, March 15, 1984, p. 646.

60. See "Alternative Theory #3: Maguari and Dengue Virus" in Part I (CAIB Number 28) for background on the insect transmission theory. See also Katie Leishman, "AIDS and Insects," *The Atlantic*, September 1987, pp. 56-72, for a detailed summary of current research on the various AIDS/insect theories.

61. Jane Teas, "Could AIDS Agent Be a New Variant of African Swine Fever Virus?" *Lancet*, April 23, 1983, p. 923.

62. The U.S. link remains speculative, but Beldekas believes that another means of international spread may have been via AIDS-infected Haitian and African blood bought by pharmaceutical companies for U.S. use. See Part II, below.

Brazil reported 214 ASF outbreaks in 17 states. A month later the disease was discovered in the Dominican Republic. By January 1979, an ASF epidemic among pigs was reported in neighboring Haiti. In each country, campaigns to slaughter all pigs supposedly eradicated ASF. In early 1980, another ASF outbreak occurred in eastern Cuba. Again, Cuba mounted a successful eradication program, slaughtering all pigs.⁶³

But there was a major difference between Cuba and its sister Western Hemisphere nations in the handling of the slaughtered pigs. Under the direction of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), the other three nations encouraged their populations to eat the pork. USDA officials in the Dominican Republic assured consumers that "meat from hogs that have ASF is not harmful to humans who eat it." Due to a multi-media campaign, a large quantity of such pork was consumed, the USDA reported.⁶⁴

CBW Behind the 1971 Cuban Epidemic

The 1971 ASF epidemic in Cuba has been tied to a CBW operation of the CIA. In 1977, *Newsday*, a New York newspaper, reported after numerous interviews with "U.S. intelligence sources, Cuban exiles and scientists," that in early 1971, a U.S. intelligence source "was given the [ASF] virus in a sealed, unmarked container at Ft. Gulick, an Army base in the Panama Canal Zone. The source said he was given instructions to turn the container with the virus over to members of an anti-Castro group." Later, "the container was taken to Cuba and given to other operatives on the southern coast near the U.S. Navy base at Guantanamo Bay in late March."⁶⁵ As for the 1980 Cuban ASF epidemic, some observers suspect it was another case of biological warfare, but there is no hard evidence.⁶⁶

An ASF Link to Pig Vaccination Programs?

A common thread in the Western Hemisphere epidemics (and in African occurrences since the early 1960s) was a new, less virulent strain of ASFV, with a much lower death rate among infected pigs—in one epidemic it was only 3 percent versus 99 percent earlier.⁶⁷

In the early 1960s, veterinary scientists experimented with a new ASF vaccine on pigs in Angola. The project backfired: Over a third of the swine had severe reactions, developing low-grade versions of ASF that persisted over time.⁶⁸ Dr. Teas believes that this new, less deadly strain of ASFV spread among pigs in Africa.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, a successful vaccine for hog cholera—a disease with identical clinical symptoms—had been developed.

63. Hess, *op. cit.*, n. 58, p. 44.

64. Dr. Saul Wilson, chief technical adviser to Dominican Republic eradication program for USDA. Quoted in USDA pamphlet published in 1981 with assistance of U.S. Agency for International Development, as cited in Leslie Feinberg, "Is AIDS Tied to Swine Fever Outbreaks?" *Workers World*, July 23, 1983.

65. Drew Fetherston and John Cummings, "Cuban Outbreak of Swine Fever Linked to CIA," *Newsday*, January 9, 1977, p. 5.

66. However, the USDA said ASF "was believed to have been brought in with food carried by refugees from Haiti." Hess, *op. cit.*, n. 63, p. 45. Evidence of a CBW role in the Cuban epidemic of dengue hemorrhagic fever the following year has been published. *CAIB* Number 17 (Summer 1982), p. 28.

67. Hess, *op. cit.*, n. 58, pp. 55-57.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

69. The veterinary literature notes that ASF is often spread by garbage dumps near airports where pork scraps from another country may be eaten by local pigs.

Evidence suggests that such vaccines used in several countries were made from ASFV-contaminated blood.⁷⁰ Thus, during mass vaccination programs, the tainted vaccine prevented hog cholera but also induced ASF on a mass scale. This may account for the Western Hemisphere and central African epidemics of the 1970s.

Were ASF Epidemics a U.S. "Development" Policy?

Ben Dupuy, editor of the New York weekly *Haiti Progres*, believes the vaccine's contamination with ASFV—at least in Haiti—was no accident and that the destruction of peasant livestock has been a prime U.S. policy goal.⁷¹ According to Dupuy, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has a two-pronged plan for "modernizing" Haiti with U.S.-owned mega-farms, factories, and infrastructure: first, dismantling the ancient system of plantations worked by sharecroppers and small plots owned by poor peasants; second, enlarging the pool of low-wage urban workers. Both require forcing the poor peasantry off their land.

In Haiti, pigs are called "the bank of poor peasants." Dupuy believes the 1979 ASF epidemic was part of a USAID food distribution program to disrupt Haitian markets. After the epidemic, USAID supervised a program of nationwide pig extermination and replacement with U.S.-raised pigs which must be fed with expensive U.S. grain. At \$100 per animal, only the rich peasants could afford to replace their livestock.⁷²

Correlations of ASF and AIDS Outbreaks

Teas and Beldekas theorize that the new, less virulent ASFV strain which had emerged among pigs in the 1960s became adaptable to human transmission.⁷³ As a result, they argue, several of the Third World nations with the highest AIDS rates have had epidemics of the new low-virulence ASF strain in recent years. They say that in general, AIDS has followed ASF by one and a half to two years.⁷⁴ That corresponds to the minimum AIDS incubation period recognized by most experts. The pattern is clearest in Brazil, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, where ASF epidemics were recorded in 1978-9 and which today have the second, third, and fourth

70. Teas noted that in Brazil, "when it appeared that the hog cholera was continuing, they [scientists] went back and looked at the sera [vaccine] they had used and found it had ASFV in it. In Haiti, ASF broke out following a vaccination program." Jane Teas, "An AIDS Odyssey," *New York Native*, December 17-30, 1984, p. 15; and see Feinberg, *op. cit.*, n. 64.

71. Interestingly, Teas notes that ASF first appeared in Haiti in a populated valley slated for flooding by a hydroelectric dam. Teas, *op. cit.*, n. 70, p. 16. Dupuy told the author he does not agree with the ASFV/AIDS theory. He thinks AIDS probably began as U.S.-based CBW against gay men, some of whom spread it to Haitian male prostitutes. Nonetheless, his analysis of the ASF epidemic is instructive.

72. The Interamerican Institute for Agricultural Science estimated that peasants lost \$500 million in slaughtered pigs. Out of a \$23 million international aid program, only \$9 million went to compensate peasants.

73. Beldekas told the author "there was sufficient change in the virus to allow it to become infectious and pathogenic to humans." Beldekas noted that such cross-species adaptation of viruses is well known in other diseases, including equine encephalitis and rabies.

74. However, official data only partially document the proposed correlation. Several Third World countries have never officially reported ASF, or have done so only after AIDS cases have developed. Teas and Beldekas suggest the reasons for these anomalies. First, ASF outbreaks have often gone unrecognized for many months, due to initial low mortality rates. Hess, *op. cit.*, n. 58, p. 49. Second, ASF is often indistinguishable from hog cholera, and thus misdiagnosed. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9. Third, many Third World countries have few veterinary inspectors. Finally, some countries cover up ASF epidemics to avoid endangering lucrative pork exports.



Scientists John Beldekas (right) and Jane Teas (left) get blood sample from a pig in Belle Glade, Florida. Results showed presence of African Swine Fever Virus. Credit: Jane Teas.

highest number of AIDS cases in the Western Hemisphere, respectively, after the U.S. Correlations have also been reported in several central African nations, including Rwanda and Uganda.⁷⁵

There may also be a correlation in Belle Glade, Florida, the rural town with the highest per capita AIDS rate in the U.S. In 1986, Beldekas found indications of possible ASF among pigs raised for food by poor Haitian migrant workers there.⁷⁶ His results generated national media attention and a quick USDA investigation that claimed to find no cause for concern.⁷⁷ According to Beldekas, the USDA has refused to release results of 1983 ASF tests done on Florida swine.⁷⁸

Resistance to Testing: A Government Cover-up?

Teas and Beldekas have run into extreme resistance from the CDC and the USDA in attempting to document the presence of ASFV in the blood of PWAs. After *Lancet's* pub-

lication of Teas's theory in April 1983, several U.S. and European researchers joined her in urging the two agencies to run such blood tests. The USDA refused; the CDC publicly dismissed the idea but privately ran a study finding a few positive ASFV results (only revealed under media pressure). Teas sought research help from seven nations' health ministries; only the British responded favorably, but quickly withdrew after USDA intervention. Finally, following involvement of journalists, including syndicated columnist Jack Anderson⁷⁹ and Charles Orlieb, publisher of the gay weekly *New York Native*, the USDA provided small ASFV samples to Beldekas for testing. The results, published in a March 1986 letter to *Lancet*, showed ASFV antibodies in the blood of 47 percent of the PWAs and 6 percent of the healthy controls tested.⁸⁰

No further tests have been done. The USDA and CDC have consistently dismissed all findings of ASFV in humans as "false positives." Other government studies have claimed to find no positives whatever. But the veterinary literature has specific warnings about the difficulty of finding evidence of ASFV, particularly of the new, low-virulence strain.⁸¹

The Pork Industry and Plum Island

There are ample reasons for the USDA and CDC to be concerned about the verification of the ASFV theory of AIDS. On the economic level, any conclusion that AIDS might be contracted from eating pork—even pork from another country—could devastate the \$9 billion U.S. pork industry, as a CDC official has noted.⁸² Proof of the ASFV theory would also challenge three years of CDC assurances that HIV is the cause of AIDS and all the studies based on that assumption.⁸³

Perhaps more alarming to government officials, any ASFV testing involving the USDA Animal Viral Research Facility at Plum Island, New York (the only place in the U.S. where ASFV may be handled and tested)—not to mention a definitive conclusion that ASFV causes AIDS—would put the spotlight on that highly secretive installation.

Plum Island has a history the U.S. government would prefer to keep quiet. According to a 1977 U.S. Army report, the facility was established by the Army in the 1940s when its "antianimal research" program outgrew the Fort Detrick, Maryland Biological Warfare Laboratory. The report, while not mentioning ASFV, notes that "two field tests of potential antianimal agents were conducted using hog cholera virus."⁸⁴

75. In Rwanda, a major AIDS epidemic followed an ASF outbreak by about two years in the same region of the country. A medical anthropologist, Douglas A. Feldman, has commented that "epidemiologists and veterinarians might do well to explore the possibility that this virus [ASFV] is a co-factor in AIDS transmission in central Africa and perhaps other regions of the world." "An African Swine Fever Link with AIDS?" letter, *New York Times*, July 31, 1986. The ASFV theory may also explain the initial prevalence of African AIDS cases among the upper classes. For example, Teas maintains that "since only upper-class Zairians can afford meat (which is very costly there), if the meat were infected with an AIDS-causing virus, then they would be the primary focal group for the disease."

76. Surprisingly, Beldekas also found that all the pigs tested positive for HIV antibody. He theorized that HIV antibody (in pigs and people) is simply "a marker for a compromised immune system," probably activated by an ASFV infection.

77. *New York Times*, May 24, 1986; June 1, 1986; July 17, 1986.

78. Agricultural scientists have deemed Florida the most likely site of a domestic ASF epidemic. Belle Glade seems to have two factors cited by a 1984 study as possible import sources: pigs brought by the many Haitian and Cuban refugees, and an airport reportedly used by drug smugglers (where wild pigs could eat infected pork scraps in garbage dumps or abandoned planes). Gibbs, *op. cit.*, n. 59, p. 644.

79. Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta, "U.S. Said to Squelch AIDS Swine Study," *Washington Post*, October 7, 1985. "Beldekas said he had been ordered [by USDA officials] not to talk to the press for national security reasons...."

80. Beldekas, Teas, Hebert, *op. cit.*, n. 58.

81. Dr. William Hess, a USDA expert on ASFV has noted that diagnosis should be based on presence of virus, not antibody. He has also cautioned that "no single test can be expected to detect the disease under all conditions," and that "a comprehensive test series" is necessary. Hess, *op. cit.*, n. 58, p. 49. These guidelines were ignored in studies done by the CDC, New York State, and the USDA.

82. Dr. James Curran, as quoted in the *South Jersey Courier Post*, February 22, 1984.

83. Dr. Peter Drotman, a CDC official, "stopped investigation of the pig disease even though its only study found that 'a few AIDS patients tested positive for the pig virus.' 'I can't prove that it's not' a cause of AIDS, conceded Drotman, who said the CDC's \$18.7 million in AIDS funds are needed to study the HTLV-III [HIV] virus, labeled the 'probable' cause of AIDS." *New York Post*, as quoted in *New York Native*, May 5-19, 1985.

84. "U.S. Army Activity in the U.S. Biological Warfare Programs, Volume II," (Unclassified), 24 February 1977, reprinted in *Biological Test-*

The lab was later transferred to USDA, but continued "defensive" CBW research. In 1978, it was revealed that Plum Island was researching Rift Valley fever, a disease used in Army CBW tests.⁸⁵

Finally, of course, there is the real possibility that Plum Island played a key role in the 1971 and 1980 Cuban ASF epidemics, and perhaps also in the ill-fated "hog cholera" vaccination programs of the 1970s, which apparently spread ASF in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Brazil.

Could "New" Viruses Be ASFV?

Though the USDA and CDC have labored to prevent verification of the ASF-AIDS theory, unexpected support may yet emerge from other federal agencies. In October 1986, a National Cancer Institute team (including Dr. Robert Gallo) discovered HBLV, a "herpes-like" virus. HBLV was found in 2 out of 14 PWAs tested, and in several people with lymphatic cancers and the newly-identified "Chronic Viral Fatigue Syndrome" (CVFS), which shares several symptoms with AIDS and AIDS Related Complex (ARC).⁸⁶ Research is underway to determine whether HBLV might be a cause or co-factor in AIDS and CVFS. Beldekas thinks that HBLV may actually be ASFV. He notes that the virus is similar in size to ASFV and closely resembles CMV, a herpes virus frequently found in PWAs and often confused by veterinarians with ASFV.⁸⁷

Another virus with a possible link to AIDS has been uncovered by Shyh-Ching Lo, M.D., a researcher at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology in Washington, D.C. In August 1986, Shyh-Ching reported discovering in PWAs a new and as-yet unnamed virus, unrelated to any previously known.⁸⁸ His tests detected the virus in 23 of 24 PWAs. Shyh-Ching believes the virus may be at least a co-factor, if not the cause, of AIDS. Injecting it into monkeys, he has induced a terminal AIDS-like disease, a result never achieved with HIV. In May 1987, it was reported that Shyh-Ching was comparing genetic maps of ASFV with his new virus.⁸⁹ Beldekas speculates the

two viruses could be the same.

Questions About the Theory

The ASFV theory has established a powerful web of evidence suggesting a causative link to AIDS. Questions exist, but they have plausible answers. Although some African countries with AIDS epidemics did *not* report prior ASF outbreaks, this is likely due more to reporting problems than to actual lack of disease.⁹⁰ Conversely, despite Cuba's 1980 ASF epidemic, the country has only had a handful of AIDS cases, probably because all pigs were immediately destroyed and none consumed. If any people were exposed via insects, the high standard of health care probably prevented the prior immune system damage many believe necessary to induce AIDS.

But if ASFV causes AIDS, would not studies have to show 100 percent of PWAs with ASF antibody, rather than 47 percent, the maximum found so far? It is very difficult to detect ASFV. Also, perhaps the viruses are there, but some PWAs' immune systems are unable to form antibodies to them. Additional fully funded research—including tests for virus rather than antibody—could resolve this discrepancy. Given the remarkable parallels of dates, places, and symptoms, it seems likely that ASFV plays a major role in AIDS, either as a direct cause or one of several factors.

Alternative Theory #5: Multiple Factors; No Single Microbe

Since Louis Pasteur's time, there has been a battle among medical theorists between a focus on single-agent causes of disease, and a multi-factorial analysis which says illness is provoked only when microbes or toxins encounter an already-weakened body. In the case of AIDS, some multiple-factor advocates have gone further, arguing that there is no single infectious microbe which causes the disease; rather, it results from the cumulative effect or "overload" of assaults on the immune system.

The multi-factorial theory's leading exponent is Joseph Sonnabend, M.D., a New York clinician/researcher who has treated PWAs, primarily gay men, since the epidemic began. In 1983 Sonnabend co-founded what is now called the American Foundation for AIDS Research. Because of his outspoken views in questioning the HIV orthodoxy, he has been ostracized and isolated by the medical establishment.⁹¹

Sonnabend notes that when the first clusters of cases were observed among gay men in 1981, the CDC created and defined the term "AIDS" to *exclude* cases of acquired immune deficiency syndrome with previously known causes, including chemotherapy, cortisone or organ-transplant drugs, and the effects of cancer, aging and malnutrition. None of these are microbes, yet all can cause a condition identical to AIDS.⁹² Sonnabend argues that AIDS is really a variety of similar

ing Involving Human Subjects by the Department of Defense, 1977, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, United States Senate, March 8 and May 23, 1977, pp. 77-78.

85. *CAIB*, Number 17 (Summer 1982), p. 17.

86. CVFS was formerly called Chronic Epstein-Barr Virus (CEBV) syndrome, named for the originally-believed cause, now deemed unlikely. Increasingly common nationwide, an "epidemic" was reported in Lake Tahoe, Nevada in 1986. Thirty percent of residents there reportedly tested positive for HBLV antibody. The symptoms overlapping with AIDS and ARC include long-term extreme fatigue, persistent sore throat, enlarged lymph nodes, and mental confusion. Ann Guidici Feltner, "The Hidden Epidemic," *Village Voice*, October 28, 1986; and Anthony L. Komaroff, M.D., *Hospital Practice*, May 30, 1987.

87. Personal communication. The publisher of a New York gay weekly, a longtime ASFV/AIDS theorist, has written, "If HBLV is African Swine Fever Virus, then several strains of Swine Fever may be circulating in the human population. One strain may not be strong enough to cause serious disease. But...multiple exposures to different strains of the virus could result in serious health problems." Charles Ortleb, "Is the New Virus the Old Virus?" *New York Native*, November 3, 1986, p. 8.

88. Shyh-Ching Lo, "Isolation and Identification of a Novel Virus from Patients with AIDS," *American Journal of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine*, 35(4) 1986, pp. 675-76; and *New York Times*, August 3, 1986, p. A1. The *New York Native* has reported that a follow-up article by Shyh-Ching was rejected in 1987 by the *New England Journal of Medicine* and the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, where two reviewers voted to publish but a third vetoed it.

89. Charles Ortleb, "HBLV in Lake Tahoe," *New York Native*, May 11, 1987, p. 6.

90. See n. 74, *supra*.

91. In 1986, the New York State AIDS Institute rejected Sonnabend's funding request for an in-depth study of his patients' histories. The Institute claimed it had "no scientific merit." Later that year, a respected journal which he founded, *AIDS Research*, was removed from his editorship by the commercial publisher and turned over to scientists more in tune with the government's line on HIV. See also Nathaniel S. Lehrman, "Is AIDS Non-Infectious?" *CAIB*, No. 28 (Summer 1987), p. 56, n. 7.

92. J.A. Sonnabend, M.D. and Serge Saadoun, M.D., "The Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome: A Discussion of Etiologic Hypotheses," *AIDS Research*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1984, pp. 107-120.

Lyndon LaRouche and the AIDS Theorists

In using AIDS to promote a repressive political agenda, the right wing has also promoted its own theories of its origin and spread. In recent years, the Lyndon LaRouche organization, the "National Democratic Policy Committee," with its racist, anti-semitic, and anti-gay ideology and well-documented connections to U.S. intelligence agencies, has made AIDS central to its organizing. It combines partially valid criticisms of U.S. government coverups with false "scientific facts" and diatribes against socialist nations and international organizations.

According to the LaRouche group, the full extent of AIDS, and its alleged ease of spread, are being covered up by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control (CDC), World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), among others. These institutions, it is claimed, are dominated by both the KGB and CIA: "We are dealing with a deadly gang of Malthusians...in league with the Soviets, who have their own military-strategic reasons for crippling the West with the AIDS pandemic."¹

In October, 1985 Dr. John Seale, an ultraconservative London venereologist, was interviewed by LaRouche's *Executive Intelligence Review*. He said, "the Soviets did not deliberately start the AIDS epidemic as a form of biological warfare, but only a moron or an idiot in the Kremlin could fail to see its potential in the East-West power struggle, now that it is here."²

Two weeks later, the Soviet Union first publicized the charge that AIDS resulted from a U.S. CBW experiment which created HIV through genetic engineering. By Seale's own account, the Soviet report led him to rethink the matter. In January 1986, a newspaper quoted him as saying, "AIDS was developed by Russian scientists as a biological weapon of war."³ This became the LaRouche line.

Another supporter of the genetic engineering theory is Dr. Robert Strecker of Los Angeles, who holds a similar view of AIDS as a Soviet plot, and has been favorably cited by LaRouche supporters. Strecker sent the author a polemic, "This is a Bio-Attack Alert," which uses excerpts from 1970s international health journals to argue that HIV was genetically engineered by the "Soviet-dominated" WHO and injected into Africans in cancer experiments. David Dubnau, Chairman of the Microbiology Department at the Public Health Research Institute in New York, and a longtime opponent of U.S. CBW, told the author that Strecker's analysis was "absurd." Dubnau said Strecker had distorted reasonable medical research plans into a non-existent murderous plot.

1. *Executive Intelligence Review*, October 18, 1985, p. 54.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

3. "AIDS is Spread by Germ Warfare," *Weekly World News*, January 21, 1986, p. 17. In August 1986 Seale noted the Soviet charge and commented, "An alternative hypothesis might be that the virus was developed in the Ivanovsky Institute in Moscow, or in laboratories in Novosibirsk, and released in the USA in the mid-1970s." John Seale, letter to *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 79, August 1986, p. 495.



In 1986, broad mobilizations led by lesbian and gay activists helped defeat the LaRouche-sponsored California referendum on mandatory testing and AIDS quarantine.

Credit: Rachel Johnson, Impact Visuals.

syndromes with different causes, depending on the population affected. (What Sonnabend considers *causes*, other theorists deem *co-factors* — agents or situations working together with a microbe to produce AIDS — more fully discussed in Part II which follows.)

Sonnabend and two colleagues argued in a 1983 article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*⁹³ that AIDS among gay men develops gradually from their bodies' inability to fight off repeated infections, and in particular, CMV (cytomegalovirus), which causes swollen lymph glands and

93. Joseph Sonnabend, Steven S. Witkin, David T. Portilo, "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome, Opportunistic Infections, and Malignancies in Male Homosexuals," *JAMA*, Vol. 249 (1983), pp. 2370-2374; reprinted in *JAMA, AIDS From the Beginning*, (Chicago: AMA, 1986), pp. 389-391.

flu-like symptoms. The doctors maintained that anal exposure to multiple partners' sperm adds to the immune suppression.

In each AIDS-affected group, the theory says, immune suppression results not from an infectious virus but from the combination of repeated illnesses and other factors: for IV-drug users, the heroin or cocaine itself (and in needle-sharers, the injected blood of other users); for recipients of repeated transfusions and hemophiliacs (who must inject Factor VIII clotting substance), the blood product itself; for people in tropical climates, malnutrition.

But many of these factors have existed for decades, even centuries. Sonnabend cites recent changes in conditions for each group to explain the emergence of AIDS in the 1970s. Among urban gay men, he notes, CMV became widespread in that period due to greatly increased numbers of sexual contacts by some within the community. For IV-drug users, he says, there has been the massive increase in their numbers due to the influx of drugs into Black and Latino communities and worsening poverty. For hemophiliacs, the doctor maintains, the last decade has seen the introduction of Factor VIII preparations made from many people's blood donations. And Africa, according to Sonnabend, has entered a severe economic depression in recent years which, together with urbanization and war, has hurt nutrition and health care.

In addition, Sonnabend believes that isolated AIDS cases have been occurring undetected for years. Certain medical techniques helpful in diagnosing AIDS have only been developed since 1980.⁹⁴ And he argues that under Third World conditions, with even less medical equipment and funding, AIDS may frequently have been overlooked or misdiagnosed. In the West, many observers have accused medical institutions of undercounting AIDS cases in Black and Latino communities.

94. In 1980, an easier biopsy was developed for PCP (see n. 93). In 1981, a device measuring T-suppressor cells, a key diagnostic tool in AIDS, first became available.

The LaRouche group's most vicious lie about AIDS is that it can be spread through casual contact, which has been proven false by numerous studies. For several years, they have used this "fact" to argue for identification and isolation not only of people with AIDS, but also of those who test positive for the HIV antibody. Around the U.S., LaRouche's political candidates have demanded mandatory HIV antibody testing, firing of teachers and health workers who test positive, and quarantine of people with AIDS and positive testers. In 1986, the LaRouche forces, under the rubric of PANIC (Prevent AIDS Now Initiative Committee), gathered enough signatures to put Proposition 64—which would have legislated such policies—on California's ballot. Although the measure was defeated by a 70 percent to 30 percent vote, the debate legitimized the repressive proposal and showed its sizeable reservoir of public support.

Seale toured the U.S. prior to the California vote, giving the measure "unqualified support."⁴ In Britain, he has publicly advocated mass HIV antibody testing and the issuance of "AIDS-Free Identification Cards" to negative testers.

The LaRouche organization has also tried to ensnare progressive scientists into supporting its call for AIDS quarantines. During the California campaign, PANIC was sued by AIDS service organizations, accused of lying to voters about the modes of AIDS transmission. PANIC alleged that AIDS was transmissible by breathing, casual contact, and insect bites. This supposedly strengthened its case for quarantining not only people with AIDS, but also people who tested positive. The first two means of spread had already been proven false, but the insect mode was (and remains) under active investigation.

Two AIDS researchers, Drs. Mark Whiteside and Caroline MacLeod, co-directors of the Institute of Tropical Medicine in Miami, had proposed that AIDS may be caused by a combination of insect-borne viruses, specifically dengue and maguari. (See "Alternative Theory #3," in Part I, *CAIB* Number 28.) Because these doctors supported an insect transmission theory of AIDS, PANIC urged them to testify on its behalf. Whiteside told the author, "We did not support it [Proposition 64]; we disagreed with certain aspects. We are against mandatory testing and quarantine—it hasn't worked in the past for yellow fever or malaria. We certainly don't want the quarantine of poor people living in squalor. There is already economic separation." But since he might have been subpoenaed and "felt compelled to address the issue of 'potential insect transmission,'" Dr. Whiteside agreed to submit a detailed letter on that point, prefaced with the words, "although I do not endorse California Proposition 64...."⁵ That was enough for PANIC. ●

4. "Unclean, Unclean: The Plague Mentality," *The New Internationalist*, March 1987, p. 14.

5. Seale is also virulently anti-gay. In one letter to the London *Daily Telegraph* (December 18, 1986), he criticized "medical experts on AIDS" for defending "the invented civil right of men to bugger each other in private." In another (March 9, 1987), he proclaimed, "The international homosexual community is united in its opposition to mass voluntary testing, and in its determination to frustrate the public's right to know the scientific truth about Aids. Once the public knows the truth, mass screening will follow as certainly as night follows day."

6. In fact, Whiteside and MacLeod had been willing to testify for a Florida worker who was fired when he told his supervisor that he had AIDS. They explained in court that the fear of casual transmission of AIDS to co-workers was totally unjustified.

In sum, Sonnabend says that to analyze AIDS, "you must look at the total environment of a person. If you take the view that it's a germ, you don't have to look at social conditions. To make people well, it is not enough to set up clinics, but you must eradicate poverty, hunger and ghettos."

Questions about the Theory

There are many questions about this theory. Was it mere coincidence that AIDS, by most accounts, emerged at about the same time (1977-78) in Africa, the Caribbean, and the U.S.? If poverty and bad living conditions alone can be the cause, why is not much more of the Third World affected? And even if part of the problem is non-detection due to a lack of diagnostic equipment, would not AIDS be visible to traveling health workers, as it has been in Africa? How does the theory explain the growing number of gay men with AIDS who did *not* have large numbers of sexual contacts? How does the theory explain AIDS among the sexual partners of IV-drug users, hemophiliacs and blood-transfusion recipients?

Following Sonnabend's article in *JAMA*, another doctor, H. Hunter Handsfield of the Sexually Transmitted Disease Control Program of the Seattle, Washington, Department of Public Health, proposed that *both* the single-virus and multifactorial theories "may be correct and...work synergistically [jointly]."⁹⁵ He explained that repeated infections and other factors could cause partial immune system damage. "In this setting, a newly evolved or imported virus (perhaps a retrovirus) may result in irreversible immunosuppression." Thus, he argued, persons with strong immune systems could control the virus and remain well, while those with damaged ones could develop AIDS.

Handsfield's theory is reasonable. Sonnabend and many others have pinpointed medical and living conditions which

probably predispose certain people to AIDS. But ample evidence also suggests that the disease is transmissible through blood, needles, and some forms of sex—thus implying an infectious microbe. The two in combination may be the way most people develop AIDS. However, *some* AIDS cases may not even involve a particular microbe, but rather result from other immune-suppressive factors by themselves. Examination of the factors which can produce such damage—with or without a microbe—is the subject of Part II. ●

PART II

CO-FACTORS IN AIDS

Why has AIDS struck so hard at particular populations: central Africans, Haitians, Brazilians, and in the West, gay men, IV-drug users, transfusion recipients, and hemophiliacs? The medical establishment attributes the spread of AIDS—like that of hepatitis-B—almost exclusively to individual behavior ("promiscuous sex" by gay men and Third World people, needle-sharing by IV-drug users) or bad luck (infected blood for transfusion recipients and infected Factor VIII for hemophiliacs). But this does little to explain why a disease said primarily to be spread sexually has until recently remained generally confined to these population groups.

Other AIDS mysteries have called into question the century-old tradition in western medicine attributing infectious diseases solely to particular microbes. If such a microbe is the *only* cause of AIDS, why do some of those exposed develop the full-blown disease, others AIDS Related Complex (ARC), and many no illness whatever?¹ Why do some people in

95. Letter to *JAMA*, 1983; 250: 3046; reprinted in *AIDS From the Beginning*, op. cit., n. 93, p. 118.

1. As measured by numerous studies of positive blood tests for HIV-antibody, a rough marker for exposure to AIDS. See Lawrence K. Altman, M.D., "AIDS Mystery: Why Do Some Infected Men Stay Healthy?," *New York Times*, June 30, 1987, pp. C1, C4; and Peter H. Duesberg, "Retroviruses

longterm sexual relationships develop AIDS while their partners do not? And what explains the differences in diseases manifested among People With AIDS (PWAs)? Why, for instance, is Kaposi's sarcoma, a skin and soft tissue cancer, more frequent among gay men than other AIDS groups?

For years, some medical dissenters have argued that diseases result from, in the words of Nobel Prize-winning microbiologist René Dubos, "a constellation of factors, rather than a single causative agent."² In the case of AIDS, researchers are increasingly examining the role of *co-factors*—chemicals, drugs, other infections, nutrients, behaviors, and genetic traits—which may make a person vulnerable to the disease.³

Dr. Arthur J. Amman of the University of California Medical School has commented, "There is no historical precedent for believing that a single infectious agent is capable of abolishing a normal immune system."⁴ Dr. Raymond K. Brown, a former cancer researcher with many PWAs as patients, has argued that a "singular emphasis on the virus itself has obscured the fact that AIDS occurs only in already immunosuppressed individuals.... *Healthy people do not get AIDS.*"⁵

But Robert Gallo of the National Cancer Institute, self-designated "discoverer" of HIV and leading federal AIDS researcher, insisted in a 1986 interview, "HTLV-III [HIV] is the sole cause of AIDS! You don't need any co-factors."⁶ He is now backing down slightly, but continues to downplay their importance, as do officials of the federal Centers for Disease Control (CDC).⁷ Some establishment scientists now suggest that *genetic* co-factors determine who develops the disease.⁸

One reason for this narrow focus on viruses and genes is that it leads to high-technology, high-profit "solutions"—vaccines, anti-viral drugs, and genetic engineering, aimed at knocking out or neutralizing the single agent. By contrast, non-chemical holistic therapies, which have shown promise in restoring damaged immune systems (putting the lie to the "inevitably fatal" label for AIDS), are inexpensive, unpatentable, minimally profitable, and can reduce PWAs' dependency on doctors and hospitals. Thus they have been ignored, ridiculed, and sometimes legally suppressed.⁹

as Carcinogens and Pathogens: Expectations and Reality," *Cancer Research*, March 1, 1987, p. 1212.

2. René Dubos, *Man Adapting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 246.

3. Lawrence K. Altman, "Does the AIDS Virus Work Alone?" *New York Times*, May 26, 1987, p. C1; Harry W. Haverkos, National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, "Factors Associated with the Pathogenesis of AIDS," *NIAID News*, July 1987 (report of a workshop attended by 90 scientists).

4. Letter to *JAMA*, Vol. 252 (1984), pp. 1281-1282; reprinted in *JAMA*, *op. cit.*, n. 93, *supra*, p. 122.

5. "Controversial Aspects of AIDS," Transcript of Symposium at Hunter College, New York, December 1986, p. 1.

6. Anna Mayo, "The Principle of Uncertainty," *New York Native*, March 10, 1986, p. 17.

7. See Lehrman, *op. cit.* Part I, *supra*, n. 90, at p. 55, n. 5 and p. 60, n. 36; and *Confronting AIDS: Directions for Public Health, Health Care, and Research* (Washington: National Academy Press, 1986), pp. 45-46. And see text, at n. 49, *infra*.

8. British researchers recently found that genetic differences in a blood protein may influence one's susceptibility to AIDS. Jared M. Diamond, "AIDS: Infectious, Genetic or Both?" *Nature*, July 16, 1987, p. 199. See also discussion of the increasing trend towards focusing on genetic causes of disease, in Lehrman, *op. cit.*, Part I above, n. 91, at p. 60.

9. Among these therapies are dietary changes, nutritional supplements, acupuncture, herbs, and stress management. Some have not only reversed major AIDS symptoms, but also apparently prevented progression of ARC

A second motivation for downplaying co-factors is that they point up the role of institutional forces in promoting disease. Dubos and other scientists have written extensively about the importance of malnutrition, unsanitary conditions, industrial pollution, food processing, and toxic drugs in modern disease patterns. These factors, compounded by racism, sexism, and anti-gay oppression, are implicated in a web of *environmental, medical and behavioral* co-factors proposed for AIDS.

As concluded in Part I, infectious microbes—which ones remains unclear—apparently play a role in causing AIDS.¹⁰ (Hereafter, the term "AIDS-inducing microbe" will be used to avoid confusion with HIV, which the medical establishment has arbitrarily named "the AIDS virus.") Co-factors interact with the AIDS-inducing microbe in one of two ways: by weakening the immune system, thus *predisposing* one to AIDS if the microbe is introduced; or by directly *spreading* the microbe. Some co-factors may only operate in particular populations. Most probably work cumulatively, or in a chain of events. Though many are controversial, *all* deserve the kind of detailed scientific investigation which the medical establishment has rarely been willing to fund.

Environmental Co-Factors

Dr. Ernest Sternglass, physics professor at the University of Pittsburgh Medical School, has theorized that drifting fallout from open-air nuclear test explosions played a role in the origin of AIDS.¹¹ In the 1950s and 1960s, people in rainy regions of the same general latitude as the Pacific island test sites—such as central Africa and the Caribbean—ingested radioactive strontium-90 in food, especially freshwater fish which concentrate the substance.¹² Some pregnant mothers passed the strontium-90 to their embryos, who absorbed it into their bone marrows. There, it damaged the white blood cells (T-cells), causing congenitally weak immune systems. At sexual maturity, when encountering venereal disease germs, including the AIDS-inducing microbe, some people more readily succumbed.¹³

Many herbicides and pesticides are "dumped" on Third World markets after being banned for health reasons in the West.¹⁴ In addition, several said to be safe, but actually toxic,

(AIDS-Related Complex) to AIDS. See "AIDS: The Promise of Alternative Treatments," *East/West Journal*, September 1986, pp. 52-65. See "New Resources" at the end of this article.

10. Besides the candidates presented in Part I, a bacterium called "acid-fast" (similar to that which causes tuberculosis) has been proposed. See Alan R. Cantwell, M.D., *AIDS: The Mystery and the Solution* (Los Angeles: Aries Rising Press, 1986).

11. E. J. Sternglass and J. Scheer, "Radiation Exposure of Bone Marrow Cells to Strontium-90 During Early Development as a Possible Co-Factor in the Etiology of AIDS," paper, 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, May 29, 1986.

12. A study of bone samples of people aged 5 to 19 collected in 1957 found the Belgian Congo (now called Zaire) had the highest concentrations of strontium-90 of 22 nations surveyed. *Report of United Nations Scientific Commission on the Effects of Atomic Radiation*, 1962, p. 330, Table 20.

13. Sternglass has also noted that since low-level radiation is known to increase greatly virus mutation, it may have made a previously harmless microbe virulent enough to induce AIDS. In a similar vein, a study by Dr. David S. Greer, Dean of Medicine at Brown University, showed that radiation exposure following a nuclear war could lead to an epidemic of AIDS-like disease. *Boston Globe*, September 22, 1985, p. 10. Others have argued that radioactivity from nuclear waste dumps, such as one in Congo/Zaire, could similarly be an AIDS co-factor.

14. Ruth Norris, ed., *Pills, Pesticides and Profits: The International Trade in Toxic Substances* (Croton-on-Hudson, New York: North River Press,

have been used to control malaria-carrying mosquitos and protect cash crops in tropical countries, including several now hard hit by AIDS. Any of these chemicals, ingested through direct surface contact or through the food chain, might have weakened people's immune systems.¹⁵ Chemical factories and waste dumps (in the West or the Third World) might have been other sources of contamination. A more speculative environmental factor in the U.S. is water fluoridation, a dental health measure which some argue can do serious longterm immune damage.¹⁶

Medical Co-Factors

Prior Infections. Many mainstream researchers now acknowledge that patterns of repeated viral, parasitic, yeast, and bacterial infections (several of them sexually transmitted diseases or STDs) are the clearest common factors among the main AIDS-affected populations.¹⁷ Since the early 1970s, many of these formerly tropic-based diseases have become rampant in the West, especially among gay men and IV-drug users.

Viral infections, such as hepatitis-B, herpes zoster, CMV, and Epstein-Barr Virus (EBV), induce immune suppression and may activate the AIDS-inducing microbe.¹⁸ Intestinal parasitic infections such as amebiasis and giardiasis, highly prevalent in most AIDS-affected populations, interfere with absorption of nutrients essential for immune system maintenance, thus doing serious damage.¹⁹ The mosquito-borne parasite which causes malaria is another well-known immune suppressor, endemic in the same tropical zones as AIDS.²⁰ *Candida albicans*, a yeast producing Thrush infection, both damages the immune system and is often an opportunistic infection in AIDS. Tuberculosis (TB), a bacterial infection common in poor Third World regions and now skyrocketing in U.S. Black and Latino communities, plays a similar dual role.²¹

Syphilis and gonorrhea are also known to suppress the immune system. More directly, some argue that syphilis may be a contributing cause of AIDS. Dr. Stephen Caiazza, a New York doctor treating PWAs, and two West German physicians, Klaus Dierig and Urban Waldthaler, recently discovered that all their AIDS patients had concurrent and previously undiagnosed cases of tertiary syphilis, an unusual form

with no visible symptoms.²² Together with Berkeley physiologist Joan McKenna, they theorized that a primary or secondary infection, if undetected or insufficiently treated with penicillin, may become dormant, only to re-emerge years later—others say after reactivation by the AIDS-inducing microbe.

Poor Nutrition and Sanitation. For years, researchers have observed extreme immune deficiencies and opportunistic infections—identical to AIDS—in severely protein-deprived children.²³ Less severe malnutrition can help produce other infections (such as TB) which are AIDS co-factors. Among better-nourished westerners, a diet of over-processed foods and excess sugar often causes deficiencies in vitamins and minerals which may damage the immune-related thymus gland.²⁴

Overcrowding and poor sanitation (contaminated drinking water, open sewers, undrained swamps) directly contribute to parasitic infections, TB and malaria—all AIDS co-factors. And, as discussed in Part I, some theorize that insects may spread AIDS directly.²⁵

Underdevelopment and Social Oppression. The Third World's interrelated problems of disease, malnutrition and bad sanitation—preventable by social, economic and environmental redesign—have institutional roots in western capitalist domination. Central Africa, Haiti and Brazil suffer from centuries of colonial and neocolonial rule with imposed export-oriented economies. This has caused mass peasant displacement and large migrant labor forces, leading to "squalid slums surrounding major cities (with contingent high rates of unemployment and prostitution) plus war and its aftermath."²⁶ Western corporations have drained these nations of valuable natural resources, underpaid their workers, and installed corrupt, dependent regimes with sparse funds for health care, housing or sanitation programs. Hunger and disease thus fester, and as populations are forced to migrate, infections spread.

In the West, Third World people face only slightly less severe conditions (although migrant farm workers in towns like Belle Glade, Florida, are just as poor and sick as many Africans or Haitians). STD clinics are grossly underfunded,

1982), pp. 2, 6-8.

15. Alternative Theory #4, in Part I of this article, reviewed the suspected immune-suppressive characteristics of dioxin, a contaminant in the herbicide Agent Orange. In addition, dioxin, like radiation, is believed to cause mutations in viruses. See *CAIB*, Number 28 (Summer 1987), p. 48, n. 21.

16. Proposed by Ohio biochemists Dean Burk and John Yiamouyiannis, as quoted in Michael Culbert, *AIDS: Terror, Truth, Triumph* (Chula Vista, Cal.: Robert W. Bradford Trust, 1986), pp. 93-95.

17. A joint medical study of 400 people in the U.S. and Congo/Zaire found that African PWAs, U.S. PWAs, African heterosexual (non-PWA) men and women, and U.S. gay (non-PWA) men had the same frequency of previous viral infections. All four groups had a much higher infection rate than U.S. heterosexual men. *JAMA*, May 15, 1987, as reported in Lawrence Altman, *op. cit.*, n. 3.

18. See *JAMA*, Vol. 253, pp. 3369-3384; and Raymond Keith Brown, M.D., *AIDS, Cancer and the Medical Establishment* (New York: Robert Speller, 1986), pp. 43-52. CMV and EBV are so widespread in PWAs' histories that researchers initially considered them possible causes.

19. D.L. Archer and W.H. Glinnsman, "Intestinal Infection and Malnutrition Initiate AIDS," *Nutrition Research*, Vol. 5, 1985, pp. 8-9.

20. R.J. Biggar, *et al.*, "ELISA HTLV Retrovirus Antibody Reactivity Associated with Malaria," *Lancet*, Sept. 7, 1985, pp. 520-523.

21. See discussion of TB in Part I, *CAIB*, Number 28 (Summer 1987), p. 52.

22. Syphilis is widespread in all major countries and groups with high AIDS rates. Caiazza notes that "all the clinical signs and symptoms associated with AIDS have also been described in syphilis." Stephen S. Caiazza, M.D., "An Open Letter from the New York Committee of Concerned Physicians" (P.O. Box 4523, Highland Park, NJ 08904), *New York Native*, March 23, 1987, p. 23. See also Craig Johnson, "One Epidemic or Two? The Syphilis/AIDS Connection," *New York Native*, May 14, 1987, pp. 13-20. The doctors also found that large quantities of aqueous penicillin, rather than usually-prescribed benzathine penicillin, brought about major improvements in AIDS symptoms. See also nn. 27 and 33 below.

23. R.K. Chandra, "Nutrition, Immunity and Infection," *Lancet*, 1983, pp. 688-91.

24. Vitamin C and zinc are especially important. See D.F. Horrobin, *et al.*, "The Nutritional Regulation of T Lymphocyte Function," *Medical Hypotheses*, 1979, pp. 969-985. See also *op. cit.*, n. 19. These nutritional co-factors also indicate nutritional preventive and treatment tools for AIDS. See Tom O'Connor and Ahmed González Núñez, *Living With AIDS: Reaching Out* (San Francisco: Corwin, 1987), pp. 146, 324-338; and Laurence Badgley, M.D., *Healing AIDS Naturally* (San Bruno, Cal.: Human Energy Press, 1986), pp. 63-142.

25. See Theory #4 in *CAIB* Number 28, pp. 49-54, and Theory #5 above.

26. Nancy Krieger, "The Epidemiology of AIDS in Africa," *Science for the People*, January/February 1987, p. 18. See also Paul Epstein and Randall Packard, "Ecology & Immunology: The Social Context of AIDS in Africa," in the same issue, pp. 10-17.

while prevention education is minimal or nonexistent.²⁷ Beyond this, the societal stigma attached to STDs, plus the racist, sexist and anti-gay attitudes of many doctors, has discouraged many from going for tests or treatments.²⁸ And for those who do go for treatment, in both the West and the Third World, further medical complications may result.

Iatrogenesis. Iatrogenesis means doctor-created conditions; the term is broadly applied to diseases and deaths produced by pharmaceutical drugs, surgery, and other medical technologies.²⁹ Two such factors in the Third World spread of AIDS are widely acknowledged: the reuse of unsterilized syringes for injections, and the lack of blood screening for HIV-antibody (unlike in the West, where it is almost universal), both due to insufficient medical funds. But rarely discussed are the western-imposed inequalities which underlie these budget shortages.³⁰

As with pesticides, many unsafe antibiotics (and other drugs) are "dumped" on Third World markets. Even "safe" types become harmful if overused. In several underdeveloped nations, companies promote antibiotics as cure-alls and sell them over the counter.³¹ The health histories of many PWAs — Third and First Worlders alike — include heavy, long-term antibiotic use.


Antibiotics kill beneficial intestinal bacteria. According to Dr. Raymond Keith Brown, overused antibiotics, especially penicillin and tetracycline, can suppress the immune system and impair resistance to later infections.³² Many antibiotics have also been found to generate resistant strains of disease.³³ Joined with the abuse of pesticides, the consequences can be deadly, as in the case of malaria (an AIDS co-factor), which according to a recent account, had a "global upsurge after a spectacular retreat in the 1960s."³⁴

Also generally unscrutinized is "the immunosuppressive effect of blood and blood products" — even without viral con-

tamination — which "allows the growth or reactivation of viral infections" among recipients.³⁵

Blood Money: Was AIDS Imported Commercially? Historical analysis suggests that western pharmaceutical industries may have imported AIDS-infected blood from the Third World in the 1970s. This is the theory of several researchers, including Mathilde Krim, Co-Chairperson of the American Foundation for AIDS Research, and John Beldekas, the microbiologist and AIDS/ASFV theorist. For decades, large profits were made from the blood of impoverished and often diseased people, until several media ex-

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a sexually
transmitted
disease

-enrollment closes in June,
after which the vaccine may not
be available for several years

Take the FREE blood test to determine
your HEPATITIS B status and eligibility
for the program.

1979 ad in a New York gay newspaper recruiting volunteers for the hepatitis-B vaccine experiment. Did the vaccine spread AIDS among gay men? Credit: *Gayweek*.

posed the scandal and western importation was sharply restricted. Among the countries most involved in both buying and selling were Haiti and Congo/Zaire.³⁶

Thus, imported blood may have been the source of western AIDS-contaminated transfusions and Factor VIII clotting substance.³⁷ Beyond this, Krim argues that the early rise of gay AIDS cases was too fast to be explained by sexual contact alone; a "common source infection" must have occurred.³⁸ Krim and Beldekas believe that AIDS-contaminated serum was used to produce hepatitis-B immune globulin (HBIG) shots used to give temporary protection against hepatitis-B. HBIGs were made from pooled plasma of people who had developed antibodies after hepatitis-B infections. These are the same populations in which, we know now, AIDS was already present.³⁹ Interestingly, the U.S. Army conducted one

27. Also, medical school education about STD treatment is minimal and some government guidelines out of date. In the case of syphilis, "as many experts attest, the CDC-recommended treatment is usually ineffective." Mike Salinas, "Doctors Present Proof of Effective AIDS Treatments," *New York Native*, May 25, 1987, p. 8. Dr. Stephen Caiazza, *op. cit.*, n. 22, discovered syphilis in his AIDS patients by using a more sophisticated and expensive test than usually employed. See also Dr. Edward C. Tramont, Walter Reed Army Medical Center, "Syphilis in the AIDS Era," *New England Journal of Medicine*, June 18, 1987; and n. 33 below.

28. Only in recent years have self-help medical and education groups (more in gay than Third World communities) begun to create alternatives.

29. See Ivan Illich, *Medical Nemesis* (New York: Random House, 1976). Several drugs are officially recognized to cause severe immune deficiency (AIDS in all but name) without a co-acting microbe. See Alternative Theory #5, n. 91, in Part I above.

30. For example, the World Health Organization's efforts to combat AIDS have been "crippled by the U.S. default" on \$50 million in required payments. Donald A. Henderson, M.D., Dean of Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, letter, *New York Times*, June 13, 1987.

31. Norris, *op. cit.*, n. 14, pp. 37-59. Observers have especially noted this in Haiti.

32. Brown, *op. cit.*, n. 18, p. 39. According to the *Physician's Desk Reference*, one side-effect of penicillin is a decrease in white blood cells, important to immune function. See also Part I, *CAIB*, Number 28 (Summer 1987), p. 41, n. 39, for immunological side-effects of an antibiotic widely used by Haitians for parasitic infection.

33. Around 1975-76, "the course of syphilis underwent...modification, sometimes in the wake of penicillin therapy;" classic syphilis was replaced by a strain "without noticeable symptoms." M. Poitevin, *et al.*, "Syphilis in 1986," *Journal of Clinical Neuro-ophthalmology*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1987, pp. 11-16. The dates may be significant, considering the 1977-78 worldwide onset of AIDS. See n. 27 above.

34. Fili Karashani, "Malaria's Back — With a Vengeance," *African Concord*, June 18, 1987, p. 31.

35. Brown, *op. cit.*, n. 18, p. 31.

36. Piet J. Hagen, *Blood: Gift or Merchandise* (New York: Alan R. Liss, 1982), pp. 66, 166-168, 178-179. Such enterprises may also be continuing the spread of AIDS within their countries. Before the trade was regulated, many people contracted hepatitis-B from unscreened transfusions. The industry still operates in the West, relying on purchases from poor and mostly non-white prisoners and ghetto residents.

37. See Peter Jones, "Factor VIII Supply and Demand," *British Medical Journal*, 1980: 280, pp. 1531-1532.

38. Interview by Larry Kramer in *Interview*, February 1987, pp. 44, 46.

39. Beldekas speculates that contamination may have also occurred when gay men and IV-drug users donated plasma for the HBIGs (there were programs targeting both groups), and then had it partially replenished with

of the studies to develop HBIG.⁴⁰

Krim notes that HBIGs were repeatedly used in the early and mid 1970s by many gay men to avoid this then-common STD. (Among others, IV-drug users and health care workers also used them.) Given a several-year incubation period, this would fit with the 1977 date of first known U.S. AIDS cases. While medical officials insist that "no [HBIG] recipient has been reported to have contracted any disease, including AIDS,"⁴¹ a 1986 study showed that HIV antibody—a marker for AIDS exposure—was widespread among HBIGs used in the U.S.⁴²

Other researchers believe that by also using AIDS-contaminated blood (either from gay men or Third World people), the hepatitis-B vaccine dispersed the microbe among gay men.⁴³ After heavy promotion in the gay community, human trials were performed on 500 gay volunteers from 1978 to 1980; then the vaccine was mass marketed.⁴⁴ Dr. J. Anthony Morris, a retired federal vaccine expert, has analogized this vaccine to that for polio, developed in the 1950s and later found to contain a carcinogenic virus.⁴⁵ Reports in the gay press have said several of the PWAs first identified (in 1981) had been vaccine study participants. The CDC has insisted that the vaccine is safe, explaining, with circular logic, that all but four of the 64 recipients who developed AIDS had "other risk factors," i.e., they were gay.⁴⁶ Yet medical followup studies of vaccine recipients specifically excluded PWAs, preventing a resolution of this controversy.⁴⁷

Did Smallpox Vaccination Spread AIDS? From 1967 to 1980, the World Health Organization (WHO) ran a worldwide vaccination campaign which wiped smallpox off the planet. On May 11, 1987, the *London Times* reported:

[WHO] is studying new scientific evidence suggesting that immunization with the smallpox vaccine *Vaccinia* awakened the unsuspected, dormant...HIV infection. Some experts fear that in obliterating one disease, another disease was transformed from a minor endemic illness of the Third World into the current pandemic.... [A]n advisor to WHO who disclosed the problem, told

a unit of banked, AIDS-infected blood.

40. "Current Investigation Studies Approved by the Army Investigational Drug Review Board." Investigator: S. Krugman, M.D.; location: Willowbrook State School (for mentally retarded children, in New York); subject group: "healthy adults;" date started: 1974. *Biomedical and Behavioral Research*, 1975, Joint Hearings before the Subcommittee on Health of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Subcommittee on Administrative Practices of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, September 10, 12 and November 7, 1975, p. 576.

41. Robert Hirsch, M.D., Medical Director, Greater New York Blood Program, "Hemophiliacs, Blood Transfusions and AIDS," in Victor Gong, *Understanding AIDS* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1985), p. 104.

42. *JAMA*, February 7, 1986.

43. But some supporters of the HBIG theory argue that the vaccine came too late to have played a major role in disseminating AIDS.

44. The manufacturer, Merck, Sharp and Dohme, of West Point, Pennsylvania, was reported in the 1960s to be "handling CBW [chemical-biological warfare] procurement contracts" for the Pentagon. Seymour M. Hersh, *Chemical and Biological Warfare* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), pp. 253-254.

45. Gary Null, "The AIDS Panic," *Penthouse*, April 1987, pp. 120-121.

46. "Hepatitis-B Vaccine: Evidence Confirming Lack of AIDS Transmission," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Review*, December 14, 1984, pp. 685-687.

47. "HTLV-III in a Cohort of Homosexual Men in New York City," *JAMA*, v. 255, pp. 2167-72.

Smallpox Vaccine and AIDS: Government/Media Coverup?

On May 11, 1987, the *London Times* broke the front-page story of the smallpox vaccine/AIDS link after WHO "buried" the report they commissioned by a hired consultant, who then went to the *Times*. It appears that no media picked up the story, except for the *Los Angeles Weekly* and the *New York Native*. *Native* writer Jon Rappaport called AP a month later asking why no article had moved on the wire. He was told that after a WHO official categorically denied the charge, the story was killed. Neither UPI nor Reuters in New York had heard of it. Nor had any coverage been given to a March 12, 1987, article by U.S. Army doctors in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, warning of the perils of the vaccine.

Three weeks after the *Times* story appeared, the Third International Conference on AIDS, in Washington, was attended by 6,500 people, including 850 reporters. Not a word was said about this major new AIDS theory. As Rappaport wrote, "Take your choice: mind-boggling global ignorance, or a cover-up."¹ ●

1. Jon Rappaport, "AIDS Blackout," *New York Native*, June 29, 1987, p. 18.

The Times: "I believe the smallpox vaccine theory is the explanation to the explosion of Aids." ...[It] would account for the position of each of the seven central African states which top the league table of most-affected countries; why Brazil became the most afflicted Latin American country; and how Haiti became the route for the spread of Aids to the U.S....The greatest spread of HIV infection coincides with the most intense immunization programs....⁴⁸

It could be further theorized that similar inoculations in Asia and elsewhere did not produce AIDS because of the absence of other co-factors.

Several doctors and scientists have supported the vaccination theory, including federal "AIDS expert" Robert Gallo (the former staunch opponent of co-factors), who told the *Times*, "I have been saying for some years that the use of live vaccines such as that used for smallpox can activate a dormant infection such as HIV."⁴⁹ But a WHO official rejected the theory as "unproven and speculative" and lacking "any scien-

48. Pearce Wright (Science Editor), "Smallpox Vaccine 'Triggered Aids Virus,'" *London Times*, May 11, 1987, pp. 1, 18. Congo/Zaire, hardest hit by AIDS, tops the vaccination list with 36 million; then Zambia, 19 million; Tanzania, 14 million; etc. The article adds, "Brazil, the only South American country covered in the eradication campaign, has the highest incidence of AIDS in that region. About 14,000 Haitians, on United Nations secondment [assignment] to Central Africa, were covered in the campaign...." Meanwhile, "new recruits to the American armed services [continue to be] immunized [against smallpox] as a precaution against possible biological warfare."

49. Quoted in Wright, *ibid.*, and see Robert Redfield, et al., *New England Journal of Medicine*, March 12, 1987, pp. 673-676. The risk of spreading AIDS through child vaccination programs in Africa was discussed at an early 1987 colloquium in Niger. "Quite apart from infected needles, the vaccines themselves could prove fatal to children who were already carrying the AIDS virus, as they would have no immunity to the vaccine which would be harmless to a normally healthy child." *New African*, April 1987, p. 16.

tific data."⁵⁰ And the world press has virtually ignored this explosive story. [See sidebar.]

A related theory suggests that smallpox or other vaccines made from animal blood might have been contaminated with viruses playing a role in AIDS. The Foundation for Economic Trends, a Washington-based environmental group, recently petitioned federal health agencies to study this possibility.⁵¹ There is certainly ample history of vaccines inducing disease, such as the U.S. swine-flu immunization campaign of 1976 which left several dead and many paralyzed with Guillain-Barré Syndrome.⁵² Since researchers are now developing a supposed AIDS vaccine using the *vaccinia* virus, a full investigation of the smallpox immunization program is urgently needed.

Behavioral Co-Factors

Few would dispute that individual behavior, especially certain sexual and drug-abusing practices, are important co-factors or modes of spread in AIDS. But to avoid the common "blame-the-victim" approach to AIDS, any analysis of such factors must examine the social conditions influencing individual actions. In the West, racism, sexism, and anti-gay oppression make daily life extremely stressful for their targets. This stress was heightened by the late 1970s' rise of the New Right and fascist groups, focused on political and physical attacks against those populations. Studies have shown that psychological stress can suppress key parts of the immune system.⁵³

Sexual Practices. Among the large numbers of Third World women with AIDS (including in the West), sexual transmission apparently has played an important role. This at least partly results from the universal double standard which justifies multiple sexual partners only for men. In particular, prostitutes (Third World and western) have been exposed to AIDS in higher proportions than other women and have been unfairly stigmatized as "AIDS spreaders."⁵⁴ In central Africa, another theorized AIDS co-factor is female infibulation, a form of sexual mutilation which produces bleeding during penile-vaginal intercourse.⁵⁵

50. Jonathan Mann, Director, Special Programme on Aids, WHO, letter, *London Times*, May 15, 1987.

51. The Foundation especially urged investigation of BIV (Bovine Immunodeficiency Virus). Philip M. Boffey, "Inquiry Sought on Cattle Virus Link to AIDS," *New York Times*, July 7, 1987. See also Eva Lee Snead, M.D., "AIDS—Immunization Related Syndrome," *Health Freedom News*, July 1987, for a theory that Simian Virus 40, a known contaminant in polio vaccines (made from green monkey blood), plays a role in AIDS.

52. R. de Long (Biology Department, Del Mar College, Corpus Christi, Texas) has proposed that mass immunizations with live viral vaccines might have caused AIDS and other "new" diseases, including Reyes Syndrome, non-A/non-B hepatitis, Lassa fever, Marburg disease, and Ebola hemorrhagic fever (the last three discovered in central Africa). "A Possible Cause of AIDS and Other New Diseases," *Medical Hypotheses*, 1984, pp. 395-397. See also Harold E. Buttram, M.D., "Immunizations Revisited," *Australasian Health and Healing*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (December 1985-February 1986), pp. 23-26.

53. Joan Borysenko, "Psychoneuroimmunology: Behavioral Factors and the Immune Response," in J.D. Matarazzo, ed., *Behavioral Health: A Handbook of Health Enhancement and Disease* (London: John Wiley and Sons, 1984).

54. Related co-factors for prostitutes include STDs, antibiotics, and contaminated needles (in Third World clinics and among the many western prostitutes who use IV-drugs). Needles may prove a more important transmission route than sexual contact, since studies show much lower HIV-antibody rates among non-IV-drug using prostitutes.

55. Regions where this practice is common have had large AIDS outbreaks. Uli Linke (Anthropology Department, University of California-

In western urban gay male communities, the 1970s saw a great rise in frequent sexual encounters with multiple partners. The reasons for this cultural phenomenon (coinciding with a similar trend among heterosexual men and women) are too complex to discuss here, except to note the climate created by the gay liberation movement, commercialized gay sex, and continued anti-gay persecution. One result was an explosion of STDs and heavy antibiotics use, both of which may have caused immune system damage.⁵⁶

Nearly all researchers agree that once the AIDS-inducing microbe entered the gay population in the mid-1970s, the practice of unprotected anal sex spread the disease. But AIDS was *not* spread by homosexuality in general or so-called "promiscuity". In fact, some gay men *without* a history of numerous sex partners, but who often engaged in this practice, have developed AIDS. And the rate of increase of gay AIDS cases has slowed dramatically, after several years of grassroots education which has sharply curtailed the practice.

Intravenous and Oral Drugs. In the West, the stress of unemployment, social oppression and isolation has led a disproportionate number of Third World and gay people to escapist and self-destructive behavior, encouraged by society's institutions. Chief among these are drug and alcohol abuse. Intravenous drug abuse contributes to AIDS in more ways than spreading it through needle sharing. Heroin is a profound immune-suppressor, as is cocaine to a lesser extent.⁵⁷

Widely ignored by the medical establishment is the possible role of oral "street" drugs in predisposing to AIDS. In 1985, Washington, D.C. AIDS doctor César Cáceres, a former federal lab director, analyzed some CDC drug use statistics and found that 54 percent of non-IV-drug-using PWAs—including 75 percent of gay PWAs—had been regular users of such suspected immune-suppressors as cocaine, amphetamines and barbiturates, LSD, marijuana, and amyl or butyl nitrites.⁵⁸ Alcohol, widely abused in these highly-stressed communities, is another immune-suppressive drug.⁵⁹ Yet the CDC denies that any of these drugs are co-factors in AIDS, and refuses to include questions on them in its PWA interview form. Cáceres found that, adding in IV-drug-users, 79 percent of all U.S. PWAs had been regular drug abusers. He asked, "Since drug abuse can severely damage the immune system, why has AIDS been identified primarily with sex, especially sex among homosexuals?"⁶⁰

Berkeley), letter, *Science*, January 17, 1986. Surveys of HIV-antibody-positive women in Uganda and Guinea have shown high percentages with sexual mutilation.

56. Some doctors also argue that very frequent rectal deposits of semen compounds immune suppression. See Brown, *op. cit.*, n. 18, pp. 22-23, and Part I above, n. 92.

57. Vincent Quagliarello, "The Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome: Current Status," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 1982, pp. 443-52; M. Marmor, et al., "Risk Factors for Kaposi's Sarcoma in Homosexual Men," *Lancet*, 1982, pp. 1083-1087.

58. The figures refer to usage at least once a week for at least several years. Cesar A. Cáceres and Terry Krieger, "The Unnoticed Link in AIDS Cases," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 24, 1985, p. 32. Cáceres says these statistics match his own clinical experience. See also P.A. Selwyn, "AIDS: What is Now Known. IV. Psychosocial Aspects, Treatment Prospects," *Hospital Practice*, October 15, 1986, pp. 125-162.

59. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, n. 9, pp. 94-98.

60. In AIDS statistics categorized by "risk groups," the CDC formerly lumped gay IV-drug users with all gay/bisexual men, thus exaggerating the role of gay sex in transmission. The practice ended in 1986, shortly following Cáceres' critical *Journal* column. Adding all IV-drug users together, their

AIDS: The Human Toll

Since its origin in the late 1970s, according to the WHO's undoubtedly low figures, AIDS has struck 62,000 people, over half of whom have died. Health officials predict AIDS will ultimately strike millions.

It has struck hardest in central Africa, Haiti, Brazil, western Europe, and the United States. But two different patterns have emerged: In the Third World, AIDS has primarily affected heterosexuals, women and men almost equally, both young and old, spreading from the urban upper classes to all social strata in all regions; in the West, however, it began mostly among urban, adult men. In the United States, gay and bisexual men comprise 67 percent and IV-drug users (including a minority who are women and gay men) 25 percent of People With AIDS (PWAs). A few are hemophiliacs and blood transfusion recipients.

The disease is rapidly spreading to more women—the sexual partners of male IV-drug users and bisexual men, and through mothers to their newborn children. In New York City, AIDS is now the leading cause of death among women aged 25 to 44. Contrary to the media's PWA stereotype (a white gay man), over 40 percent of PWAs in the U.S. are Black or Latino (of whom, in turn, 40 percent are gay men). Among PWAs nationally, 70 percent of IV-drug users, 70 percent of women, 80 percent of children, and 90 percent of prisoners are non-white.

In many western gay and Third World communities, hundreds have died; almost everyone knows someone stricken by AIDS. For Blacks and Latinos, this epidemic, on top of already poor medical services, is a crushing blow. Among the results: The average survival period after diagnosis is nineteen weeks for a non-white PWA, two years for a white PWA; tuberculosis, which afflicts those with lowered immunity, is ferociously resurging in U.S. ghettos and barrios; and the over-stretched public hospital system must divert millions of precious dollars to meet the emergency of AIDS. ●

[Many of the statistics cited here for AIDS in the U.S. were derived from Centers for Disease Control (CDC), "Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) Among Blacks and Hispanics—United States," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 1986: 35, pp. 655-66.]

A study of CIA development of LSD notes, "Nearly every drug that appeared on the black market during the 1960s...had previously been scrutinized, tested, and in some cases refined by CIA and army scientists."⁶¹ And the CIA's role in smuggling several of these drugs—especially heroin and cocaine—has been well documented.⁶² A major influx of both, in which local police are known to play a role, occurred in Black and Latino communities after the 1960s urban rebellions and has increased since then.

Poppers: Key Link to Gay Men's AIDS? In the 1960s, amyl nitrites were developed as angina medicine. They became popular as street drugs, called "poppers" for their "rush" which enhances and prolongs orgasm. Beginning in 1972, after non-prescription sale of the drug was banned, liquid mixtures of closely related butyl nitrites were marketed as "room deodorizers." According to a study by two gay scholars and activists, "Poppers are advertised and sold to gay men, who make up virtually the entire market for the commodity."⁶³

Extensive research has shown that poppers cause severe immune system damage, and are suspected of being an important co-factor in the AIDS-linked Kaposi's sarcoma (KS).⁶⁴ This may explain the greater prevalence of KS cases among

gay compared to heterosexual PWAs. The few early studies of gay PWAs which asked about poppers use found high regular usage, whereas healthy gay men had much lower use rates.⁶⁵ Yet the CDC refuses to acknowledge poppers as a possible co-factor and has done no further epidemiological studies. "Fraudulent research" and "statistical trickery" have reportedly been used by academics, government officials, and businesspeople to prevent the banning of this drug.⁶⁶ These people, and the gay bar owners and gay newspaper publishers who promoted poppers, all bear some responsibility for the health damage wrought on the gay community.

U.S. Army records show that amyl nitrite was one of many drugs tested by a chemical warfare laboratory in the 1960s and 1970s.⁶⁷ The first mass gay marketing of poppers occurred the same year (1972)⁶⁸ as an Army study entitled "Effect of Amyl Nitrite in Man."⁶⁹ Persistent reports from anti-poppers activists say the multi-million-dollar industry may be linked to organized crime. The close relationships between the Army, CIA, organized crime, and local police have been well documented.⁷⁰ Could the U.S. government have targeted the gay

overall percentage of PWAs jumped from 17 to 25 percent.

61. Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, *Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD, and the Sixties Rebellions* (New York: Grove Press, 1986), pp. xx-xxi.

62. See Robert Lederer, "Chemical-Biological Warfare, Medical Experiments, and Population Control," *CAIB* No. 28 (Summer 1987), p. 34. And see Alfred McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), and Henrik Krüger, *The Great Heroin Coup* (Boston: South End Press, 1980).

63. John Lauritsen and Hank Wilson (together with the Committee to Monitor Poppers), *Death Rush: Poppers & AIDS* (New York: Pagan Press, 1986), p. 5. (Available for \$3.95 from Pagan Press, 26 St. Marks Pl., New York, NY 10003.)

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-50. The authors cite numerous epidemiological and laboratory studies from a range of medical journals.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 10. However, due to gay community education, the proportion of gay PWAs who used poppers may have substantially decreased since the early 1980s. Haverkos, *op. cit.*, n. 3.

66. Lauritsen and Wilson, *op. cit.*, n. 63, back cover.

67. "Incapacitating Agents Tested at [Army] Medical Research Laboratory, FY [Fiscal Years] 61-67," and "Research Plans Approved After November 1971," compiled by the Biomedical Laboratories at Edgewood Arsenal in Maryland, the Army's chemical warfare center. Reproduced in *Biomedical and Behavioral Research*, *op. cit.*, n. 40, pp. 1139, 1142.

68. Lauritsen and Wilson, *op. cit.*, n. 63, p. 15.

69. "Research Plan #12,002," approved March 15, 1972. Listed in *Biomedical and Behavioral Research*, *op. cit.*, n. 40, p. 31.

70. There have been many books on the subject. See, for example, William R. Corson, *The Armies of Ignorance* (New York: Dial Press, 1977); Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance* (New York: Knopf, 1980); Jim Hougan, *Spooks* (New York: Morrow, 1978); David Wise, *The American Police State* (New York: Random House, 1976); and David Wise and Thomas

community for poppers distribution to undermine the nationwide gay liberation movement launched in 1969? It is only speculation, but worthy of investigation, given the coinciding flood of other (more immediately destructive) drugs in Black and Latino communities.

A Possible AIDS Scenario

The author has reached these tentative conclusions about the AIDS theories covered in both parts of this article: The official theory that HIV—supposedly evolved from African green monkeys—causes AIDS, has been seriously challenged, and remains to be established. Unless and until it is, all theories contending both that HIV is the cause of AIDS and that it was genetically engineered—whether accidentally or purposely, in CBW or civilian medical experiments—must be viewed with great caution. The HIV/CBW hypotheses presented in Part I appear to have scientific flaws, though new theories may prove more sound.⁷¹ The theory of dioxin as a cause of AIDS lacks solid support, though the toxic chemical may sometimes act as a co-factor. Insect-borne maguari and dengue viruses may also act as co-factors in certain people, but evidence of their causal role remains weak.

ASFV probably plays a major role in causing AIDS, but *only* in people with immune systems damaged by various co-factors. Moreover, there may also be some AIDS cases produced by multiple co-factors *without* any virus. Either way, co-factors certainly determine who develops AIDS, when it occurs, what form it takes (which opportunistic infection or cancer), and what its prognosis is.

The following is a possible scenario as to the origin and spread of virus-caused AIDS, weaving together many of the



Uganda AIDS clinic. In central Africa, AIDS is taking a devastating toll, its spread promoted by poorly funded clinics using unscreened blood transfusions, unsterilized syringes, and excessive antibiotics. In some regions, entire villages have been wiped out. Credit: *Newsweek*.

theories and studies presented here. Though only informed speculation, it could form the basis for further debate and investigation.

In the 1950s and 1960s, in rain-drenched central Africa and

B. Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York: Vintage, 1974). And see the works cited *supra* at n. 62.

71. A new book theorizes that medical experimenters accidentally created AIDS by injecting monkeys with two or more animal viruses, which combined to form HIV. The authors argue that a lab accident may have infected humans with with new virulent virus. National Anti-Vivisection Society, *Biohazard* (London: NAVS, 51 Harley Street, London W1N 1DD, 1987).

perhaps the Caribbean, radioactive fallout from nuclear bomb tests produces interuterine damage among many women. Their congenitally immune-suppressed children become susceptible at adulthood (mid-1970s onward) to a host of STDs. These STDs, especially syphilis, and other infectious diseases caused by poor sanitation and malnutrition, plus the antibiotics overused to treat them, compounded by exposure to herbicides and pesticides, do further immune damage. Meanwhile, a smallpox vaccination campaign in the same countries either taxes these people's immune systems to the limit—or spreads a cow virus which helps to cause AIDS.

Enter African Swine Fever Virus. In the early 1960s, a failed vaccine development program creates a new strain of ASFV in Angolan pigs, adaptable to human infection. The virus spreads among swine in Africa, and then to small numbers of people who eat infected, undercooked pork (primarily the upper classes who can afford it) or are bitten by infected ticks or mosquitos. In the mid to late 1970s, in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and perhaps several central African nations, U.S. "development" bureaucrats infect hog cholera vaccines with ASFV in order to create ASF epidemics among pigs, to drive peasants off their valuable land and into urban corporate workforces. Some people eat infected pork, this time with U.S. encouragement.

ASFV is then further spread by sexual contact, by insects (perhaps), and at clinics—most heavily attended by people with STDs—through the use of unscreened blood transfusions and unsterilized syringes. By whatever means exposed, those people with prior immune damage (from fallout, STDs, antibiotics, vaccinations, etc.) develop AIDS. By the late 1970s, ASFV/AIDS becomes an epidemic in parts of the Third World.

Several years earlier, as the first people become infected with ASFV, blood donors sell their (unknowingly contaminated) plasma to the West. There, it is used to produce, among other things, Factor VIII for hemophiliacs, blood transfusions for hospital patients, and gamma globulins for hepatitis-B, heavily administered to gay men and IV-drug users. Beginning in 1978, ASFV-infected blood (either from the Third World or from gay men) is also used to produce the hepatitis-B vaccine experimentally administered to gay men. (An additional route could be gay sexual contact with Haitian male prostitutes.)

The spread of ASFV in the West occurs first via blood, then amplifies via unprotected anal and penile-vaginal sex, and needle-sharing. The virus is transmittable to broader populations, such as sexual partners of IV-drug users and hemophiliacs (well-documented) and heterosexual health workers taking gamma globulins (speculative). But development of the full-blown *disease* requires both a large quantity of virus (repeated intercourse or gamma-globulins) and serious immune system damage (exposure to co-factors). Thus, today, AIDS is increasing much faster in Black and Latino communities, with worse health and nutrition levels and minimal AIDS prevention education, than in the white heterosexual population.

Several co-factors help determine which westerners, once exposed to ASFV, are vulnerable to AIDS. For gay men, IV-drug users, and Third World people generally: repeated STD (especially syphilis) and/or other infections, antibiotics over-use, "street" drug abuse, and junk food diets. For transfusion recipients and hemophiliacs: general weakness plus repeated

introduction of immune-suppressive blood products. In each case, background environmental exposures (nuclear radiation, toxic chemicals) further add to vulnerability.

Meanwhile, among some people with syphilis (both First and Third World), poor testing and treatment techniques allow it to progress to the tertiary stage, and influence the development of a virulent but dormant syphilis strain. If reactivated years later by ASFV infection and other co-factors, the syphilis manifests as AIDS, particularly the brain infections and dementia seen in some PWAs. In fact, long-incubating syphilis may ultimately prove to be the root of most AIDS cases.

Role of HIV. It is too early to settle on the role of HIV, but two possibilities seem likely: HIV may be simply one of many latent (undetectable and normally harmless) viruses in most people's bodies. After infection with ASFV (through blood, sex, or insects) and perhaps limited immune system damage caused by co-factors, HIV surfaces to produce the flu-like condition that is sometimes (but not necessarily) an early sign of AIDS. In response, the body forms antibodies to HIV, which deactivate that virus so that it plays no further harmful role.⁷²

Or, HIV is a virus external to the body. After it is imported through blood or sex, antibodies form, but they do not deactivate it. Only under particular conditions—the presence of ASFV and immune damage caused by other co-factors—and after an incubation period, does HIV play a role in inducing ARC or AIDS. In this view, HIV is simply one of several co-factors.

Either way, a positive blood test for HIV antibody would only show *exposure* to an AIDS-inducing microbe and the *possibility* that the person may develop ARC or AIDS. Once so exposed, a person's future health prospects completely depend on other co-factors—some of which can be controlled by the individual.

Conclusion

It is urgent that there be grassroots investigations and political pressure on western governments to release existing information and do further research to clarify *all* the factors that lead to AIDS. This must include full medical survey information on PWAs to determine which co-factors they have been exposed to. It must also include large-scale laboratory studies to evaluate the various proposed AIDS-inducing microbes.

This information could greatly aid prevention and treatment efforts. Targeted anti-drug educational campaigns could be devised, sanitation conditions improved, nutrition levels increased, pollutants curtailed, harmful medical practices re-examined and changed. Among those vulnerable to AIDS, and those who already have it, clarification of co-factors could point up holistic therapies to reverse some of the immune damage which triggers and results from AIDS. And if it were confirmed that a microbe other than HIV plays the key role, research into AIDS vaccines and treatments, both drug-oriented and holistic, could be transformed. In short,

72. The argument for HIV's non-pathogenic role has been presented in detail by Dr. Peter Duesberg, a molecular biology professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and a renowned expert on retroviruses. (He has not speculated on the role of any other virus, such as ASFV.) See Duesberg, *op. cit.*, n. 1, pp. 1199-1220, and "A Challenge to the AIDS Establishment," *Bio/Technology*, Vol. 5 (November 1987).

New Resources on AIDS

Harris L. Coulter, *AIDS and Syphilis: The Hidden Link* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1987), 126 pp., \$8.95 from NAB, 2320 Blake St., Berkeley, CA 94704. Detailed analysis of the role played in AIDS by syphilis and overuse of antibiotics.

"Facing AIDS," a special issue of *Radical America*, Nov.-Dec. 1986 (issued Sept. 1987), 88 pp., \$3.95, from Radical America, 1 Summer St., Somerville, MA 02143. Solid research and analysis by several writers on such AIDS issues as medical economics, racism, anti-gay oppression, and imperialism.

Agitate! Educate! Organize!, P.O. Box 330, New York, NY 10013; national network of AIDS activists.

On alternative therapies for AIDS:

Tom O'Connor and Ahmed González-Núñez, *Living With AIDS: Reaching Out* (San Francisco: Corwin Publishers, 1987), 426 pp., \$19.95 from Corwin, P.O. Box 2806, San Francisco, CA 94126. Excellent, carefully documented presentation of holistic treatments for AIDS, ARC, and damaged immune systems.

AIDS Treatment News, c/o John S. James, P.O. Box 411256, San Francisco, CA 94141, (415) 282-0110; biweekly, well-researched newsletter on new treatments, both drug and non-drug.

Project Inform, 25 Taylor St., Rm. 618, San Francisco, CA 94102; (800) 822-7422; provides updated information by phone and in writing on experimental AIDS treatments.

HEAL (Health Education AIDS Liaison), P.O. Box 1103, New York, NY 10113, (212) 674-HOPE; a support/referral group for holistic therapies; will send information packets. ●

many lives could be saved.

But already, one conclusion is clear: Western institutions—military, governmental, corporate and especially medical—played a major role in the origin and spread of AIDS. This was probably more through their "normal" functioning than by a specific CBW "conspiracy," though that cannot be ruled out. However, if the African Swine Fever theory proves true, and if the contamination of pig vaccines was, in fact, deliberately aimed at impoverishing Third World peasants, then it can indeed be said that AIDS is partly due to CBW—though against animals and only accidentally spread to people. In any case, it is no accident that western institutions continue to allow the spread and nontreatment of AIDS through medical underfunding, educational neglect, social repression, and a coverup of the real causes and potential treatments. More vividly than ever, the AIDS epidemic has shown that western imperialism and western medicine, joined with age-old racism, sexism, and anti-gay oppression, make a deadly combination indeed. ●

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them in developing the Nicaraguan *contra* operation. Agency sources among the Argentine military provided valuable information during the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war which the Agency then passed to the British—to Argentina's detriment.

Beginning in the 1970s the Agency financed the far-right Christian Phalangist militia of Bashir Gemayel in Lebanon. Israel also supported Bashir and convinced Casey to chip in \$10 million. When Bashir was elected President in 1982, he asked the Agency for security assistance. Casey budgeted \$600,000 to begin, with growth expected to \$2-4 million. Nine days before taking office Bashir was killed by a car bomb. When Bashir's brother Amin was later elected President, the Agency started a security assistance program for him.

Under Casey the CIA's covert propaganda operations expanded to "about two dozen, providing money abroad for newspapers, think tanks and institutes."

Covert CIA paramilitary support enabled Hissène Habré to take control of Chad in 1982, ousting the Libyan-backed government of Goukouni Ouedei. The Agency then established a security-intelligence assistance program to keep him in power.

Other security-intelligence programs to keep regimes in power helped bolster Presidents Zia of Pakistan, Doe of Liberia, Marcos of the Philippines (to the bitter end), Numairi of Sudan, and Duarte of El Salvador. Duarte, according to Woodward, had long been on the Agency's payroll. Another beneficiary of such programs was King Hassan II of Morocco whom the CIA had helped to keep in power since 1961. One important loser was Egyptian President Anwar Sadat who, despite all the Agency's efforts to train his security personnel and collect information on threats to his life, fell before fundamentalist assassins in 1981.

In 1982 Reagan authorized up to \$5 million in "nonlethal" assistance to the non-communist opposition to the Vietnamese in Kampuchea—thus allying his administration with the murderous Khmer Rouge forces.

In 1984 the Agency joined the Saudis in supporting the armed opposition to the government in Ethiopia.

Following Reagan's reelection in 1984, Casey began a "preemptive self-defense" counter-terrorist operation in Lebanon. Its purpose was to attack terrorists before they could undertake new operations, and the budget was set at \$1 million to start—with expected growth in other countries raising the cost to \$5.3 million. Because of bureaucratic opposition within the CIA, Casey convinced the Saudis to take over the operation for which they paid \$3 million. The first operation, a car bomb intended to assassinate the spiritual leader of Hezbollah (Party of God), Sheikh Fadlallah, went wrong. The target was unscathed, but 80 bystanders were killed and 200 injured.

Woodward's accounts of the Agency's continuous operations against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua and the Libyan government of Muammar Qaddafi are familiar fare, and largely tales of failed efforts to oust these two Reagan ob-

sessions.

As a former Agency operations officer, I found *Veil* quite believable because the methodology came across as standard 1950s and 60s practices. Also convincing were Woodward's accounts of opposition within the Agency to certain covert operations, particularly from veteran professionals like Deputy Directors Bobby Inman and John McMahon. Finally, I found Woodward's discussions of Casey's continuing headaches and crises with the congressional oversight committees both amusing and realistic. Anyone opposed to covert interventions will not find encouragement from these committees.

The book's major fault is its failure to discuss the CIA's support for the security services and death squads in El Salvador. At one point Woodward has Casey, on a trip to El Salvador in 1983, telling his \$90,000-a-year-salaried Treasury Police Chief (Nicolas Carranza) to knock off the killings. But he doesn't see the contradiction between supporting the Treasury Police and other Salvadoran services (with money, equipment, training, information, etc.) and controlling their operations. Repression of the left was their job.

Most damaging to Casey as a professional is the episode with John Horton, under whom I worked in Uruguay in the 1960s. I probably respected Horton more than any other officer I knew in the Agency because he was as decent and honest as you can be and still be in the job. Apparently he has not changed, because he resigned as National Intelligence Officer for Latin America when Casey demanded changes in an estimate on political stability in Mexico. Casey wanted Mexico painted as a potential Iran, not on the facts but on Mexico's refusal to back Reagan policy toward Nicaragua.

And Casey's supposed *glasnost* with Bob Woodward? I failed to count "more than four dozen interviews or substantive discussions" between them. But then, using the interlocutor for one's own purposes is the name of the game in both professions. Nobody can say that Casey and Woodward did not use each other: Casey for a place in history, such as it is, and Woodward for another worthwhile book, puffing all the way.

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Glasnost—Washington Style

A Review of Bob Woodward's "Veil"

By Philip Agee

Bob Woodward, *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 544 pp., \$21.95.

Did Bob Woodward really get that deathbed confession from William Casey? Much as one may have wanted to believe him, for many, including this reviewer, it made the ending of *Veil* just a bit too perfect.

But why the controversy, except for the sake of honesty in journalism? And who really cares about that? Sure, Casey knew of the diversion of profits from the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran to the *contras*. He had to know. As creator and guardian of the *contras*, Casey had to know their financial condition and their ability to survive when Congress cut off funding in 1984. The CIA had to monitor their bank accounts and follow the amounts and sources of contributions in order to maintain a running evaluation of their chances. Anything less would be to abandon them—and to fail in collecting intelligence.

Woodward himself wrote, 40 pages before the Casey confession, that Oliver North had explained the diversion of profits to Casey who considered the "sting" against Iran the "ultimate covert operation." So the confession was dramatic, but hardly a new revelation in content.

Woodward unfortunately sheds no light on the central question of Reagan's knowledge of the diversion, apparently accepting the President's disclaimer. But how could Reagan *not* have known, if getting rid of the Sandinistas was his obsession? One can believe that Admiral Poindexter didn't tell Reagan, but Casey? His friend, campaign manager, and Director of Central Intelligence? If there was a link to Reagan, it had to be Casey, and he took the secret with him. In failing to speculate on Reagan's knowledge of the diversion, Wood-

ward skips over the most important aspect of the whole scandal.

Other problems I had with *Veil* include Woodward's projections of his own persona into the story, almost straining to become a player, and his attempts to peek inside the "culture" of the CIA. In describing the special reverence toward Casey within the Agency, for example, Woodward mentions that every cable from Headquarters to a Field Station carried a "Cite Director" number, and every message in the other direction was addressed: "To the Director." This form, he did not realize, has been in use at least since the 1950s, and very likely since the Agency's beginning in 1947. It had nothing to do with Casey as a much respected Director.

Still, *Veil* is likely to be the standard reference work on the CIA during the Reagan-Casey years for some time to come. The information content is extensive and valuable, more for its organization and indexing in one tome than for its novelty. Taken as a whole, the book relates CIA interventions in every region of the world, wholly in keeping with Reagan's campaign pledges.

Some examples:

With Saudi Arabia matching the CIA dollar for dollar, support for the Afghan rebels grew from \$30 million to \$500 million.

As soon as Congress repealed the Clark Amendment in 1985, the CIA joined South Africa in support of the UNITA rebel forces in Angola with an initial budget of \$13 million for paramilitary assistance.

The CIA's "extremely close" relations with the generals ruling Argentina in the early 1980s enabled the Agency to join

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